

THE MILITANT

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY/PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

Firings, disruptions

New secret files detail FBI plots

—See page 8



Militant/Cindy Jaquith

Freedom for Joanne Little!

—See page 3

MAGAZINE SECTION BATTLE OF BOSTON

FIRST YEAR OF BUSING.
HOW DESEGREGATION
SUPPORTERS ANSWERED
RACIST VIOLENCE. SEE INTER-
NATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW
INSIDE.

NEW YORK

HOW UNIONS CAN STOP CITY
LAYOFFS. PAGE 4.

TEACHERS

A BILINGUAL SCHOOL FACES
THE CUTBACKS. PAGE 5.

NAACP

UPHOLDS BLACK JOB GAINS
IN SENIORITY DISPUTE.
PAGE 7.

ANGOLA

INDEPENDENCE FIGHT NOT
YET WON. PAGE 28.

THIS WEEK'S MILITANT

- 3 1,000 rally to defend Joanne Little
- 4 How to answer Beame's layoffs
- 5 N.Y. cutbacks hit bilingual teachers
- 6 Students prepare for fall busing struggle
- 7 NAACP fights to defend Black job gains
- 8 FBI's 'New Left' disruption operation
- 25 Camejo, Reid tour Chicago despite threats
- 26 Ten questions for the Communist party
- 27 CPUSA on the closing of 'República'
- 28 Angola independence fight not yet won
- 32 Portuguese military vs. democratic rights.
- 2 In Brief
- 10 In Our Opinion Letters
- 23 Women In Revolt La Lucha Puertorriqueña
- 24 Great Society National Picket Line By Any Means Necessary
- 11-22 International Socialist Review

THE MILITANT

VOLUME 39/NUMBER 25
JULY 4, 1975
CLOSING NEWS DATE—JUNE 25

Editor: MARY-ALICE WATERS
Managing Editor: LARRY SEIGLE
Business Manager: ROSE OGDEN
Southwest Bureau: HARRY RING
Washington Bureau: CINDY JAQUITH

Published weekly by The Militant Publishing Ass'n., 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014. Telephone: Editorial Office (212) 243-6392; Business Office (212) 929-3486. Southwest Bureau: 710 S. Westlake Ave., Los Angeles, Calif. 90057. Telephone: (213) 483-2798. Washington Bureau: 1345 E. St. N.W., Fourth Floor, Washington, D.C. 20004. Telephone: (202) 638-4081.

Correspondence concerning subscriptions or changes of address should be addressed to The Militant Business Office, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.

Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y. Subscriptions: domestic, \$7.50 a year; foreign, \$11.00. By first-class mail: domestic, Canada, and Mexico, \$32; all other countries, \$53. By airmail: domestic, Canada, and Mexico, \$42. By air printed matter: Central America and Caribbean, \$40; Mediterranean Africa, Europe, and South America, \$52; USSR, Asia, Pacific, and Africa, \$62. Write for foreign sealed air postage rates.

For subscriptions airmailed from New York and then posted from London directly to Britain, Ireland, and Continental Europe: £1.50 for eight issues, £3.50 for six months, £6.50 for one year. Send banker's draft or international postal order (payable to Pathfinder Press) to Pathfinder Press, 47 The Cut, London, SE1 8LL, England. Inquire for air rates from London at the same address.

Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent the Militant's views. These are expressed in editorials.

'SOCIALISM AND THE CHICANO STRUGGLE': That was the title of a conference organized by the Socialist Workers party in Los Angeles on the weekend of June 14-15. More than 120 people attended.

Mariana Hernández spoke on "The Origins of Aztlán," and Miguel Pendás gave two lectures on "Marxism and Chicano Liberation." Froben Lozada presided at the conference. Lozada, a longtime participant in the Chicano movement and an active socialist, is head of Chicano studies at Merritt College in Oakland.

Several dozen Chicano activists from the Los Angeles area and other parts of California attended the conference. The speakers were received with unusual enthusiasm, and discussion throughout the weekend was intense and animated.

The weekend concluded with a Mexican dinner and a party that featured the Teatro Campesino film, *I Am Joaquín*.

Bob Chester, veteran socialist, dies in S.F.

Bob Chester died unexpectedly of a heart attack on the evening of June 22 at his home in San Francisco. He was sixty-two years old. An active member of the Trotskyist movement for forty years, Chester was a longtime member of the national committee of the Socialist Workers party and an outstanding socialist educator.

A memorial meeting is scheduled in San Francisco at 8:00 p.m. on July 5. The address is 1519 Mission Street, and messages should be sent there. The *Militant* will print an appreciation of Chester's life in a coming issue.

GAY LIBERATION ACTIONS: It's been six years since the event that is usually accepted as marking the birth of the gay liberation movement. In 1969 a police raid on a gay tavern on Christopher Street in New York City set off an unprecedented series of protests by homosexuals.

As in past years, gays in cities around the country are holding demonstrations to note the anniversary. On June 22 in Boston more than 1,000 marched. Elaine Noble, a gay member of the Massachusetts state legislature, addressed a rally, and Deborah Clifford, Socialist Workers party candidate for Boston School Committee, distributed a statement backing the fight for gay rights.

The Christopher Street Liberation Day Committee in New York is calling on demonstrators to assemble on June 29 from 10:30 to noon on West Fourth Street between Sixth and Seventh avenues and on Grove Street between Sixth Avenue and West Fourth Street. The march will proceed up Sixth Avenue to the Central Park band shell, where a rally is expected to begin around 2:30.

Also planned in New York is a July 12 march on St. Patrick's Cathedral. According to a news release issued by the Gay Activists Alliance, the Roman Catholic Archdiocese in the city has launched an all-out campaign to defeat Intro 554, a gay-rights bill before the city council. In response, a coalition of more than thirty gay, feminist, religious, civil liberties, and political groups is backing the demonstration.

'NO CONTRACT, NO WORK': That was the message on the buttons worn by postal workers as they marched—1,500 strong—in Washington, D.C., on June 19.

"We want to avoid a walkout, but if management is looking for a strike, then what they are doing is the best way to bring it about," said Moe Biller, president of the 26,000-member New York Metro Area Postal Union, which organized the action. The contract expires July 21.

James Rademacher, president of the National Association of Letter Carriers, said the main issues were wages, benefits, retention of a no-layoff clause, work standards rules for part-time employees, and mechanization.

MEMORIAL MEETING FOR MARTIN HALL: A memorial meeting will be held in Los Angeles on July 6 for Martin Hall, a veteran radical who died June 5. An anti-fascist German exile, Hall was long associated with many progressive causes. The meeting will be held at 2:00 p.m. at the First Unitarian Church, 2936 West Eighth Street. Among the speakers will be Dr. Stephen Fritchman, minister emeritus of the First Unitarian Church.

REID BACKS LONDON ABORTION DEMO: The British Parliament is currently considering reactionary legislation that would make 75 percent of abortions now performed in that country illegal. Opponents of the James White Abortion (Amendment) Bill organized a June 21 protest in London.

"White Bill defeat urgent," Willie Mae Reid, Socialist Workers party vice-presidential candidate, wired the demonstrators. "Part of international attack on gains women have made in winning right to choose abortion."

Reid linked the White Bill to the persecution of Dr. Kenneth Edelin in the United States and Dr. Henry Morgentaler in Canada.

"No return to back-street abortions!" she concluded. "Sisterhood is powerful and international!"

ACLU SUES CIA: When Stephen May used provisions of the Freedom of Information Act to request his CIA file, the agency consented to turn over only two of six documents it acknowledged having on him. And those two were heavily censored.

The CIA claimed exemptions allowed under the new act on the basis of "national security," "invasion of the personal privacy of others," and "information as to intelligence sources and methods." In response, the American Civil Liberties Union of Southern California announced at a June 12 news conference that it was filing suit.

"This case," said ACLU attorney Mark Rosenbaum, "presents a very important test of the newly amended act in order to determine whether or not the act will fulfill its stated purpose: to provide access to individuals' files and dossiers collected by government agencies, and whether agencies such as the CIA will be able to continue to conceal from the public their improper activities with regard to intervention into domestic and foreign politics."

The two documents received by May relate to a 1970 trip to Cuba. He wonders whether information in the other documents would reveal CIA spying on his political activity in this country.

REOPEN ROSENBERG CASE: Nearly 1,000 people turned out in New York City on June 19 to commemorate the twenty-second anniversary of the execution of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg. The Rosenbergs were executed at the height of the cold-war hysteria on charges of giving the secret of the atom bomb to the Soviet Union.

The meeting was sponsored by the National Committee to Re-Open the Rosenberg Case, which is dedicated to forcing the release of the secret government files on the case in order to expose a conspiracy to frame the Rosenbergs. One researcher has recently secured some documents under the Freedom of Information Act. They alone indicate a far-reaching plot to manufacture a "big case" and secure the death penalty.

Speakers at the meeting included Robert and Michael Meeropol, the Rosenbergs' sons, whose new book, *We Are Your Sons*, is renewing interest in the case; attorney Marshall Perlin; and Edward Ericson, chairperson of the Board of Leaders of the Society for Ethical Culture.

The next day a demonstration was held at noon in Foley Square to demand the opening of the files in the case.

—Nelson Blackstock

YOUR FIRST ISSUE?

SUBSCRIBE TO THE MILITANT



Joanne Little's fight for freedom is winning support from opponents of racism everywhere. The *Militant* carries regular reports on this important defense effort. To keep up with this case and other developments in the Black movement, subscribe to the *Militant*.

Introductory offer—\$1/2 months

() \$1 for two months () New
() \$7.50 for one year () Renewal

Name _____
Address _____
City _____ State _____ Zip _____

14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014

Chicago tour wins support

1,000 rally to defend Joanne Little

By Judy Hagans

CHICAGO—A midday rally attended by 1,000 people on June 21 was the high point of Joanne Little's two-day visit to Chicago.

Little is a young Black woman who will go on trial July 14 for first-degree murder. The charge stems from the death of a white jailer, Clarence Allgood, who tried to rape Little, armed with an ice pick. As Little struggled to defend herself from the sexual assault, Allgood was fatally stabbed with the ice pick.

At the rally, held in the Shiloh Missionary Baptist Church, Little described her harrowing existence after she fled from the jail in Washington, North Carolina. She told of the visit by police with high-powered rifles to the home where she was hiding. "If the police had found me," she asked, "do you think I'd be alive today?"

She told of the \$500 bounty offered to her protector if he would reveal her whereabouts. If she had turned herself

in to the police in Beaufort County, she added, "you would have read, 'Joanne Little hangs herself in cell.'"

After eight days in hiding, Little turned herself in to the FBI with the help of the Southern Poverty Law Center.

The rally was organized by the Chicago Women's Defense Committee, a coalition of organizations.

In addition to organizing Little's visit in Chicago, the Chicago Women's Defense Committee has secured thousands of signatures on petitions to the governor of North Carolina, demanding that all charges against Little be dropped.

While in Chicago, Little had numerous interviews with the media. She and her attorney, Jerry Paul, appeared on the nationally televised "Phil Donahue Show," and Little was featured on the "Wesley South Hot Line" radio show, the most popular radio talk show in the Black community.

Little also had newspaper interviews

with the *Chicago Sun-Times*, *Chicago Tribune*, *Muhammad Speaks*, and the *Chicago Daily Defender*.

At a news conference on the morning of June 21 Little described the broad national support her case is receiving. "I have support from Black organizations and churches," she said. "There are so many organizations that I can't begin to tell you all of them. The people have been really touched—the poor, those who are living in the same conditions, the same environment as me. It's a question of survival."

While rallying people to support her own case, Little is also exposing the horrible living and working conditions Black and women prisoners suffer. In North Carolina, Little said, women prisoners in the prison laundry are forced to stand in water, denied protective gloves, and must lift bundles of clothes weighing 175 pounds.

"When women prisoners in Raleigh asked for negotiations about these conditions," she continued, "they sent men in from the central prison with billy-jacks, and twenty-five unarmed women were injured."

When asked about the justice system in America, Little responded, "Justice is not the right word to use."

"Nixon, Rockefeller, and all of them that have money get away with anything they want to get away with."

Attorney Jerry Paul also appeared at the news conference. He told reporters that \$65,000 has already been spent by the defense simply to get the trial moved from Washington, North Carolina, to Raleigh, a larger city with more Black potential jurors.

"If it costs \$500,000 for an average citizen to be defended, then that's not a fair judicial system," Paul stated.

Little urged her supporters to be in Raleigh on July 14 for the opening of her trial. "If you don't show support," she said, "I'll be the seventy-fifth person on death row in North Carolina."

Speak-out set for N.Y.

A "Speak-Out to Defend Joanne Little" will be held in New York City on Friday, July 11, 7:30 p.m., at the Riverside Church, 490 Riverside Drive.

The speak-out is sponsored by numerous groups and individuals, including 100 Black Men; 100 Black Women; New York Student Coalition Against Racism; National Council of Negro Women; Joanne Little Defense Fund, Inc.; and others.

Speakers will include Gloria Steinem; William Kunstler; Ossie Davis; Rev. Timothy Mitchell, vice-president of the National Conference of Black Churchmen; Doris Turner, executive vice-president of District 1199, National Union of Hospital and Health Care Employees; Yvonne Davis, coordinator of Joanne Little Defense Fund, Inc.; and others.

The Chicago Women's Defense Committee will be organizing buses from Chicago to go to the trial.

In addition, local activities will be held on or around July 14 in support of Little. About 150 people signed a list circulated during the rally to help work on these actions.

Other speakers at the rally on June 21 included Rev. Willie Barrow, vice-president of Operation PUSH. Through her appeal for donations, Barrow raised \$1,800 toward the defense.

Linda DeTolve of CASA; Barbara Garrison of the Chicago Women's Defense Committee; attorney Thomas Todd; Patricia Berg of the Delbert Tibbs Defense Committee; and several others also spoke.



Militant/Joel Britton

Joanne Little with supporters at Chicago news conference. Nationwide support for her case continues to mount.

Reid: 'The only justice is freedom'

While in Chicago on a campaign tour, Willie Mae Reid, vice-presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers party, participated in the Joanne Little defense efforts in that city and attended the June 21 news conference and rally.

Reid took the opportunity to deliver the following letter to Joanne Little.

Sister Joanne,

Your determination to fight the racial and sexual oppression in the prison system voices the sentiment I feel along with every woman victimized in this society. Without a doubt, the charges brought against you by the racist, sexist judicial system are phony, trumped-up charges that *must* be dropped.

When I received the mailing from the Southern Poverty Law Center on your case, memories from my teen-age years south of the Mason-Dixon line flooded back. I remembered being sent to the back of the city buses so that white people could have a seat. I remembered the twelve hours a day spent with my family in the hot sun picking cotton because Blacks were locked out of better jobs. I remembered the Jim Crow laws that justified treating us like subhuman beings. I remembered

joining the fight against those laws that had forced us into a category somewhere just below the favorite house pet in white households.

My gut reaction to your plight was outrage and anger! Here we are over one hundred years from the end of

slavery and ten years after the end of Jim Crow, and you and I are still just a pound of flesh to be used, abused, and then cast aside with the sanction of Southern justice.

I knew immediately that it would be necessary to move millions to support

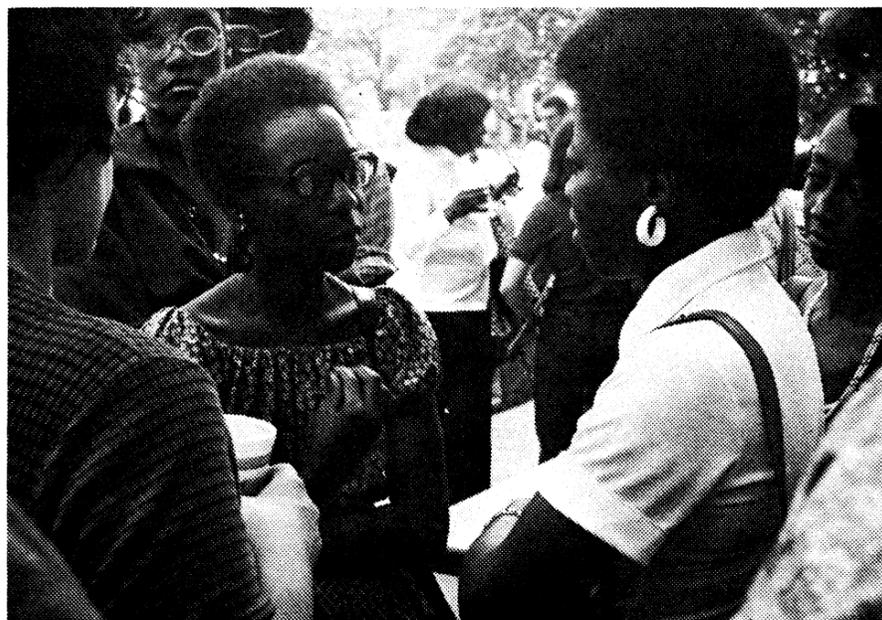
you in order to make sure you got a hearing. To win your freedom, North Carolina officials must see that you have broad support. Only visible and massive support can say that North Carolina is on trial, not you; that you dominate the courtroom, not them.

At the time your case became public, I was running for mayor of Chicago, challenging Richard Daley, and my campaign became one of your platforms of protest. Today, I am campaigning for the vice-presidency of the United States on the Socialist Workers party ticket. I pledge to you that my campaign will continue to be one more podium from which Joanne Little speaks. Like many other "disciples of Joanne" that have developed across the country, I, too, feel that the only justice for Joanne is freedom. I will, of course, be coming to Raleigh on July 14 to join with others in supporting you.

Joanne, your refusal to submit to racial and sexual assault is as important to us today as was Rosa Parks's refusal to continue to submit to racial humiliation in 1955.

Together, we beat back the system then, and together we can beat it back again today!

In solidarity,
Willie Mae Reid



Militant/Joel Britton

Willie Mae Reid (left) discusses defense effort with Joanne Little. Reid, Socialist Workers party vice-presidential candidate, pledged to campaign everywhere to mobilize 'visible and massive' support for Little.

40,000 jobs wiped out

How to answer Beame's layoffs

By Ray Markey

NEW YORK, June 24—Shock waves are spreading through the ranks of city workers here as thousands are notified they will be out of a job in just a few days.

On June 19 the city council adopted the budget for the coming fiscal year, wiping out some 40,000 city jobs—more than 10 percent of the city work force. Additional funds may still be voted by the state legislature in Albany, but these are certain to be too little to save more than a relative handful of jobs.

Like sudden fires breaking out in the fierce summer heat, protests are blaz-

ing up all over the city. Walk down the street and you pass parents and teachers demonstrating outside a school soon to be decimated by cutbacks.

At city hall, hardly a day goes by without a picket line against the layoffs. Sometimes a few dozen are marching, sometimes a few thousand.

Some workers—frustrated, enraged, with nothing to lose—stage sit-ins at their workplaces or supervisors' offices. Union meetings are rocked with angry calls for strike action.

The largest city union, and the recognized leader of the municipal workers, is District Council 37 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees. At the AFSCME headquarters at 140 Park Place, desperate workers wander through the halls with layoff notices in their hands. "What is the union going to do?" they demand.

Shunted from one office to another, they get few answers. Instead they get a leaflet with the headline, "The Union Is Fighting To Save Members' Jobs." On the back it tells how to apply for



Hundreds of thousands of people in New York are ready and willing to act. These forces can be welded together into movement with power to take on Beame.

unemployment insurance.

Many of these workers went to Washington on April 26 for the national march for jobs, initiated by District Council 37. On June 4 they massed again at their union's call, this time on Wall Street to protest the profiteering manipulations that caused the city budget crisis.

They expected, or at least hoped, that these actions signaled a determined union campaign to save their jobs. But now that push has come to shove, the central union leaders are making it clear they are prepared to accept layoffs.

CETA plan

At an emergency delegate assembly meeting of District Council 37 on June 19, Executive Director Victor Gotbaum outlined the plan he had worked out with Mayor Beame.

There is simply no way to stop the layoffs, Gotbaum asserted, but arrangements are being made to transfer laid-off permanent civil service employees to federally funded jobs under the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA). This proposal was adopted, but not without vehement opposition.

There is no guarantee that all the thousands of fired city workers will get CETA positions. There is no guarantee that the city will supplement the starvation wages paid on CETA, or that union benefits will be provided. There is absolutely no job security—no guarantee that the patch-work solution will hold up for more than a few months.

But that's not the worst part. The CETA positions—supposedly intended to aid the most needy unemployed workers—are already filled with provisional city employees who were laid off several months ago. Many are union members and a very high proportion are Black, Puerto Rican, and other oppressed minority workers.

Gotbaum's proposal is for permanent city employees to bump these workers off CETA and onto the streets and the welfare rolls.

A delegate at the meeting protested the discriminatory effect this would have on low-seniority Black and Puerto Rican workers. Gotbaum replied that he couldn't please everybody.

The CETA plan is now being intensely discussed throughout the ranks of AFSCME. In the past two days, Locals 924, 376, and 1157, representing city laborers and foremen, have voted to call for united strike action by District Council 37 if any workers are laid off. They join Locals 1930 and 371, which had earlier urged strike action.

The New York crisis is often posed as a bewildering array of budget figures, money-saving schemes, and complicated tax plans. But the essence of the crisis is very simple: the wealthy rulers of New York are out to slash social services, lay off workers, and drive down real wages.

To disarm the potential resistance to their cuts, their most potent weapon is to exploit the divisions among working people, to get us fighting among ourselves over how to carve up a shrinking economic pie. They want to see the unions attacking each other, permanents fighting provisionals, the Black, Puerto Rican, and Chinese communities fighting the unions.

So far this strategy has unfortunate-

ly met with some success. At this point AFSCME and the other city unions are in retreat. Meanwhile, officials of other powerful unions in New York, with few or no members on city payrolls, shrug and say, "It's not my problem."

Warning signal

One of the greatest dangers of this course is that it forfeits the prospect of a union-community alliance to fight the cuts. The CETA scheme, which is already provoking an outraged response by minority workers, is a serious warning signal.

Make no mistake about it: if the unions don't stand up for the interests of the Black and Puerto Rican communities and take the lead in organizing with them against city hall, it will not be long before we will see the communities demonstrating against the unions.

We won't get anywhere by retreating, by making deals with Beame behind closed doors to save some at the expense of others, or by burying our heads in the sand to wait for better times.

What lies ahead is not better times but more layoffs, more cutbacks, more attacks on our unions. Our only hope is to stand up now for the jobs of everyone, for all the schools, hospitals, and services needed by the working people of New York.

As individuals there is little we can do—that's why we joined the union, because we know our strength lies in collective action. Even individual unions, acting by themselves, cannot stop this concerted assault by the city's rulers.

Strength in unity

United, though, our strength is tremendous. There are hundreds of thousands of people in this city—union members, unemployed workers, students, parents, young people who need jobs—who are ready and willing to act.

These vast forces can be welded together into a movement with the power to take on Beame and the bankers he is fronting for. Mobilized in united mass actions, using to the hilt the power of our numbers and our strategic position as the people who keep the city going, we can rock city hall to its foundations—and the reverberations will be felt in Albany and Washington as well. That's the kind of social movement it will take to defeat the cutbacks and layoffs.

The June 28 march on city hall, initiated by AFSCME Locals 1930 and 371, can be one step toward building

Continued on page 30

All out June 28!

Unionists, students, and community activists from all over New York will march on city hall June 28 demanding no cutbacks and no layoffs.

The demonstration will assemble at Union Square at 12 noon. After a march to city hall there will be a rally at 2 p.m.

"The mass layoffs and cutbacks affect all of us," states the call for the march. "Only together can we fight back and win!"

Initial sponsors of the demonstration include: David Beasley, president, AFSCME Local 1930; Patrick Knight, president, AFSCME Local 371; Sidney Von Luther, National Coalition Against Inflation and Unemployment; Dennis Serrette, Coalition of Black Trade Unionists; Por los Niños coalition, school District One; New York CORE; Harlem Youth Federation; Sam Manuel, New York Student Coalition Against Racism; Jay Hershenson, chairperson, student senate, City University of New York; Moses Harris, Black Economic Survival; Charles Rosen, Co-op City rent strike; Puerto Rican Socialist party and Negro Action Group.

Socialist answer to N.Y. crisis

The Socialist Workers party wholeheartedly supports the June 28 demonstration.

To resolve the present crisis of inflation, unemployment, and cutbacks, the SWP demands:

- Halt all U.S. military spending. Use the \$100 billion now squandered each year on the Pentagon for jobs and social services.
- Launch a massive, emergency public works program to provide millions of jobs at union wages.
- Shorten the workweek with no cut in pay so that all who need jobs can have them.
- Open the books of the banks,

corporations, and all government agencies so we can find out the truth about who is responsible for the budget crisis.

- Declare a moratorium on interest payments on city bonds. Not one penny to wealthy bondholders while human needs are unmet.

- Provide cost-of-living escalator clauses for all wages and social benefits to keep the incomes working people abreast of rising prices.

- Abolish all restrictions on the rights of public employees to organize, bargain collectively, and strike. Repeal the Taylor Law.

'Sign for your pink slip, too'

Cutbacks hit N.Y. bilingual teachers

By Catarino Garza

NEW YORK—For months teachers and paraprofessionals throughout the city had heard rumors, read stories in the daily press, and listened to reports by their union representatives about cutbacks and layoffs.

Everything seemed vague and unreal, however, and the feeling among many teachers was like the attitude of weekend drivers. They know it is statistically certain there will be accidents, but no one ever believes it will happen to them.

Emergency meeting

Then, about two weeks ago, the staff of our school in the Hunts Point District of the South Bronx was assembled for an emergency meeting. The principal told us about a meeting just held of all the principals in the district with the district superin-

Catarino Garza is a bilingual teacher in New York and a member of the United Federation of Teachers.

tendent. Similar gatherings must have been going on all over New York, with similar announcements.

The occasion was supposed to have been a gala luncheon for the last meeting of the district's principals that school year. At the meeting they were informed that, because of the budget cuts, eight schools in our district would be closed, all school aides would be laid off, and all kindergarten classes for the next year would be canceled.

Also, 17 assistant principals were to be "excessed" (fired), along with 1 principal, 437 teachers, and 37 secretaries. The schools would be cut down to 1 secretary per school. Only about 20 guidance counselors were to be kept. All paraprofessional workers with less than seven years' experience were to be excessed.

This was just for the elementary schools in one district. The figures for junior high schools were separate.

Our school is the only completely bilingual elementary school in the city. It has a higher proportion of Puerto Rican teachers than most New York schools, and better relations between the teaching staff and the surrounding Puerto Rican community.

At first ours was listed among the schools to be shut down, but this proposal provoked such an immediate outcry, even from administrators, that it was quickly dropped.

The principal, reporting these cuts, appeared to be under a strain. His school reorganization plan for next September would have to be revamped, of course.

The teachers, paraprofessionals, and school aides at the meeting were shocked. The budget cuts meant there would be thirty-eight students to a classroom. It has been thirty-two.

'Save Our Schools'

A few days earlier, teachers, parents, and paraprofessionals from the school had participated in a giant demonstration at city hall to protest cutbacks. The theme had been "Save Our Schools."

How would the layoffs be handled, teachers began to ask. Teachers have different types of licenses, and seniority rules are complex.

Questions were raised about the policy of the union, the United Federation of Teachers.

The chapter chairperson had attended a UFT delegate assembly meeting a few days earlier. He reported that UFT President Albert Shanker had said a total of 18,000 to 20,000 jobs in education, almost all of them teaching positions, would be lost under Mayor Beame's "crisis" budget. Even if Beame got the full \$641 million in additional state aid he has requested, 4,000 jobs would be lost.

Shanker had thanked the delegates for the magnificent work they had done in turning people out for the demonstration. He then outlined the next step in his campaign—lobbying legislators for an increase in taxes. No other action was proposed.

Someone commented that the union did not seem too concerned about laid-off teachers, perhaps since they would automatically be out of the union and in no position to affect union policy.

The next Monday, the paraprofessional I work with got her layoff notice. She had been working in that capacity for six years, while also attending college at night, raising four children, and preparing meals for her husband. It had been an



Militant/Baxter Smith

incredible schedule, but the hope of a better position and life for her family lay at the end of the road.

She showed me the slip of mimeographed paper with her name written in the blank space. Perhaps education had been the wrong choice, she remarked. Some of her relatives had taken shorter courses and gotten jobs in hospitals.

I answered that hospital workers were also being affected by cutbacks and jokingly said that we wouldn't return to school if she wasn't there.

She laughed, but then became serious and said, "I've been thrown out of work before, and between my husband and me we'll manage somehow."

"But what about those women who are the sole support of their families and have nowhere and no one to turn to? Those are the people who really suffer," she said. "What will these classrooms be like when they have thirty-eight children in rooms that can barely hold what we have now?"

Then it was time to get the children in the yard and we went down the stairs without exchanging another word.

After three, when the children had been dismissed, I was on my way to the office to punch out. In the hallway I saw people peering down at long

mimeographed sheets.

Someone shouted, "O.K. Garza, sign for your pink slip, too!"

"You're kidding!" I cried out. She wasn't.

'That settles it'

I went over to where the secretary was getting teachers to sign that they had received the notice. After I signed I stood around listening to the remarks of other teachers as they found out they wouldn't have jobs next year.

One teacher looked at the notice carefully and then said in a loud voice, "Well, that settles it. I guess I'll get married." Another teacher said she would probably do the same.

Teachers were gathering around another sheet the secretary had laid out: the seniority list. They looked carefully to see how far from the bottom of the list they were. Some just seemed numb.

A colleague of mine, who had resisted joining the union because of Shanker's racist policies, asked me what the union would do.

I explained that the UFT leaders, who had campaigned hard to elect Beame, seemed to be pinning their hopes on their supposed political clout and their ability to get greater concessions than other city departments. I said I didn't think it was a very wise policy.

Rotten choice

She commented that it was certainly a rotten thing for people in the South Bronx to have to choose between fire fighters and schools.

As we walked toward the subway we talked about what effect the cuts would have on the children and on special programs she had been instrumental in starting.

"Look," she told me, "I got two job offers over the weekend, so I'm not worried about working, but what are the schools going to be like next term?"

"People have to get off their behinds and do something," she said. But she was pessimistic that many teachers would get involved.

I said that in my opinion there was a certain initial trauma for people who had felt secure in their positions, but that once it wore off they might do something, if some reasonable action were proposed.

"We have to think in terms of organizing the younger teachers within the union if the leadership of the union pays no attention to their needs," I said.

"I'd join the union for that fight," she declared.

'Unions will be our strength'

By Martha Harris

NEW YORK—At 3:00 p.m. on June 18 the children from Public School 20 in the Fort Greene section of Brooklyn brought home a leaflet calling parents and teachers to an emergency meeting that same night to discuss the impending budget cuts.

The leaflet listed fourteen serious cuts to take place, including the firing of twelve teachers, the termination of kindergarten, and the end of the free breakfast and hot-lunch program.

By 8:30 that night seventy-five parents and teachers—with many tired and grumpy babies and toddlers—had assembled in the school auditorium.

The principal, who chaired the meeting, had nothing more to suggest than a letter-writing campaign and a delegation to confront "our local representatives."

Then Myles O'Malley, a member of the Carpenters union who has two children in the school, got up to speak.

"These budget cuts are a frontal attack on working people," he said. "When working people are attacked, they must respond in traditional ways. The unions will be our strength in this struggle. We must make contact with them and prod them into taking a strong stand against these cuts and layoffs."

His suggestion was much more enthusiastically received than the "invisible letter-writing protest," as one parent termed it.

It was also announced that a meeting of unions and community groups, sponsored by AFSCME Locals 1930 and 371, was taking place

that same night to plan a city-wide march on city hall against the cuts.

Several participants in the meeting at P.S. 20 said they would be interested in building such an action.



Militant/Andy Rose

NSCAR maps plans

Students prepare for fall busing struggle

By Jon Hillson

BOSTON—The racists are threatening that chaos will accompany the opening of school here this fall, when the extension of court-ordered busing under Phase Two of school desegregation goes into effect. The National Student Coalition Against Racism is busy this summer, preparing to counter that threat.

NSCAR was formed at a national conference of more than 2,000 students and other young people from across the country last February in Boston. Boston NAACP President Thomas Atkins issued the call for the May 17 march for school desegregation at the opening session of the gathering.

Joette Chancy and Mac Warren, two Black activists who are leaders of the student coalition, recently talked with the *Militant* about what they expect this fall.

"It's going to be hot when the schools open," Warren said.

"It's not as if there could be trouble in just one or two schools," Chancy said. "When the trouble began last fall, I was going to school in Lexington—the suburbs. One of our buses was stoned. Black students bused into Marblehead were shot at. So every Black student will feel what happens in Boston."

NSCAR played a leading role in recruiting and training monitors to ensure that the May 17 march would be peaceful. Chancy described how the coalition plans to put the experience it gained in this effort to use in the fall: "Over the summer we want to train as many Black high school students as possible about what they can expect when they go to school."

"The Black students weren't prepared for the abuse and the confrontations they got into last fall," she said. "A lot of my friends just horsed around last summer. This time it's different."

Through the training program NSCAR hopes to develop a layer of Black student leaders who will report



Militant/Jon Hillson

NSCAR leaders Mac Warren and Joette Chancy discuss plans for summer antiracist actions.

provocations by the racists and make sure the truth gets out when Black students are mistreated by the teachers, police, or administrators.

NSCAR activists recently got further experience along these lines when they were enlisted to monitor a special "Appreciation Ball" organized by Concerned Parents for Quality Desegregated Education to honor the Black students who pioneered school desegregation here last year.

At its national steering committee meeting held May 17, NSCAR called for a week of antiracist activities July 28-August 3.

NSCAR chapters around the country will focus on local antiracist struggles as well as the situation in Boston. Many chapters have been engaged in fighting against the massive cutbacks in social services and jobs that are taking place in major cities.

"The economic crisis means that Blacks are hit hardest and first by high prices, layoffs, and unemployment," Warren said. "We plan to involve Boston residents, who face a 10 percent state cutback, in our week of activity. Government workers, welfare mothers, and students all have to pull together our strength and show that we will stand up to attacks on our rights."

Chancy said that NSCAR affiliates in Seattle and San Francisco have been involved in anticutback fights around the high schools. New York SCAR has played a big role in helping to build demonstrations against massive job and social service cutbacks in that city.

Warren said NSCAR chapters have also been active in the defense of Joanne Little, a Black woman facing murder charges for defending herself from rape by a white jailer. They will

be organizing demonstrations to coincide with the opening of Little's trial on July 14.

NSCAR is planning its second convention for October 10-12, to be held in Boston. Chancy said the open convention "will seek to attract all those active in the struggle against racism and the drive to desegregate the schools."

"We don't know what it will be like in Boston by then," she said. "It could be that we will already have had to call demonstrations if Black students face what happened last year."

Chancy said that when demonstrations are organized in the fall, "we will go to all the organizations, first of all the NAACP, with which we work closely, to build massive actions to protest any racist attacks on Black students."

She described the impact NSCAR had on her school last year as the organization was just getting formed. "NSCAR speakers came for debates and Black History Week. People began reading our newspaper, the *Mobilizer*, and helping to pass it out."

"Slowly but surely, the white students as well became involved," she said. "And when a group of Black and white students sharply questioned ROAR and other antibusing speakers at a school assembly, the whole audience was with us."

"Things like this," Warren said, "show the changing relationship of forces in Boston. In the past year the Black community has begun to move and inspire our allies, especially the students."

"The racists are as dangerous as ever," he said. "But the Black community is better prepared, and the growth of NSCAR will be a big addition to the struggle to defend school desegregation."

NSCAR can be reached at its new office at 612 Blue Hill Avenue, Boston, Massachusetts 02121. Telephone: (617) 288-6200.

Testimony on racist violence

Civil Rights Commission examines Boston

By Maurice Baker

BOSTON—With its hearing room packed with members of the racist organization ROAR (Restore Our Alienated Rights), the United States Civil

Rights Commission wound up five days of hearings here June 20. The six-member federal investigatory commission heard testimony from school and government officials, police, clergy, and some community groups on Boston's first year of school desegregation.

The extent of racist opposition to court-ordered desegregation was reflected in the testimony of a parade of local officials from Mayor Kevin White, to Boston School Committee member John Kerrigan, down to school administrators. There were predictions of violence at the opening of school in such antibusing strongholds as Charlestown, which will increase its Black student enrollment from 2 percent to 34 percent under Phase Two of court-ordered desegregation.

Thomas Atkins, president of the Boston NAACP, opened the fourth day of the hearings with a scathing criticism of city officials.

Atkins said some of the Boston School Committee members "ought to be in jail" and that President Ford, with his antibusing statements, was "part of the problem."

Joette Chancy, a coordinator of the National Student Coalition Against Racism, exposed the anti-Black nature of the opposition to court-ordered busing, sending the ROAR-packed gallery into a frenzy.

Chancy urged the commission to publish the truth about the racist opposition to school desegregation and said that NSCAR would continue to help "mobilize the Black community and its allies" to prevent antibusing forces "from denying Blacks our democratic rights."

"It is the responsibility of the national government to take all necessary steps in the fall to ensure the safety of Black students," she said. "This means using all force required, including federal marshals or troops, to protect Black students from racist violence."

Norman Oliver, Socialist Workers party candidate for mayor of Boston, testified about the numerous incidents of racist violence that have occurred during the past year, including a Nazi attack on his campaign headquarters on the evening of May 17.

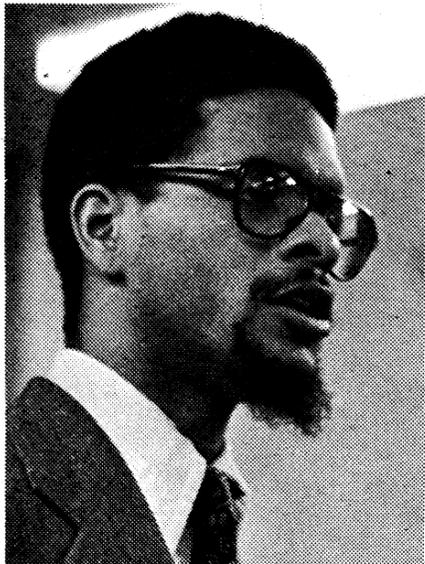
"I'm glad to see that the Civil Rights Commission is here," Oliver said, "but

that is not enough. There needs to be a full-scale investigation, conducted by the Justice Department and FBI, of the obstruction of court-ordered desegregation. Those responsible for organizing the lawbreaking should be apprehended and prosecuted—whether they are in government or not."

"It was with utter disgust that I watched President Ford, Kissinger, and other federal officials gloating over the government's show of force in the *Mayagüez* incident," he continued. "If the government can send marines to prop up rotten regimes in Southeast Asia, then it can send the marines to Boston to enforce school desegregation."

The ROAR members were furious. ROAR leader Pixie Palladino shouted out mockingly, "Violence! Violence!"

"Send the marines to South Boston!" Oliver retorted. "Black schoolchildren exercising their right to an equal education must be protected. And if that means marines with fixed bayonets standing between them (he pointed at Palladino and her entourage) and Black students, so be it!"



Militant/Maceo Dixon

NORMAN OLIVER: "Protect Black students from racist violence."

NAACP fights to defend Black job gains

By Baxter Smith

Discriminatory hiring and promotion practices have always been used to lock Blacks out of jobs and to keep them in the dirtiest and worst-paying ones available. The civil rights movement of the 1960s made giant strides in challenging this setup and helping Blacks break through the color line in employment.

In fighting this battle, Blacks have had to confront not only the employers, but also the conservatized union leadership, which sees its role not as fighting for the interests of all workers, but as protecting a white job trust.

Now, the economic crisis eats away more and more at the job gains that Blacks—along with other minorities and women—won in the 1960s, and many of these gains are being wiped out.

Blacks who fought their way into jobs that had previously been open only to whites are being shown the rear door out. The old "last hired, first fired" enemy is snatching back the victories that were achieved.

Now, the pro-Meany wing of the labor bureaucracy is arguing that affirmative-action programs, another victory of the 1960s, must give way to the seniority system. Defenders of Black rights are answering that the seniority system must not be used as an excuse to reduce the percentage of newly hired Blacks and women.

This confrontation has blossomed into a national debate. It is being heard in factories, offices, union halls, and courtrooms, and it will be a major topic of discussion at the upcoming NAACP convention, June 30-July 4.

Title VII

The NAACP has backed a number of court cases arguing that Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act means that Blacks and women must not be forced to bear a disproportionate share of the crisis-generated layoffs.

Currently, federal courts have been split on the issue. It is expected that the U.S. Supreme Court will hear arguments on the matter during its fall session.

Title VII is the employment provi-

sion of the Civil Rights Act. It bars every employer of fifteen or more people from job discrimination on the basis of race, color, religion, national origin, or sex.

Virtually every court-ordered affirmative-action agreement of the past ten years is grounded on the Title VII provision. In a landmark decision in one of the first affirmative-action rulings by the Supreme Court, *Griggs v. Duke Power Company*, Chief Justice Warren Burger wrote for a unanimous court:

"The objective of Congress in the enactment of Title VII . . . was to achieve equality of employment opportunities and remove barriers that have operated in the past to favor an identifiable group of white employees over other employees."

Title VII has been cited to correct unfair promotional practices. In *Local 189 v. United States*, it was ruled that seniority was awry if it denied minority workers equal promotional opportunities.

One of the most determined backers of equal job rights for Blacks has been the NAACP.

Role of NAACP

Some of its most publicized victories have been in the steel industry, against the entrenched racist practices of the steel barons and the union leadership. In the past four years the NAACP has won some thirty cases involving back pay and preferential seniority for Black victims of discrimination in the steel industry and in other basic sectors of the economy.

In April 1974 the NAACP won a major steel settlement on behalf of Black workers who had been locked into the worst jobs and who had previously been losing their seniority when transferring to a new department in the plant.

The old seniority rule was altered for them and they were awarded \$31 million in back pay. But the settlement contained serious faults that the NAACP challenged.

The settlement only covered workers who were hired for production and maintenance jobs before 1968, and back pay is computed only since 1963. Thus, the average payment "will be \$775, but the majority of workers will receive only the minimum, \$250," according to NAACP National Labor Director Herbert Hill.

In many of the cases where suits were required to win affirmative-action hiring programs, the defendants included not only the employers but the unions. In the steel settlement, for example, the United Steelworkers of America was a defendant.

In nearly all the current cases involving seniority, layoffs, and Black rights, the union officials have again been involved—but again on the wrong side.

Last September the Jersey Central Power & Light Company decided to lay off 400 employees. It had a seniority layoff agreement with the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers (IBEW), but it was under an affirmative-action agreement with the

Continued on page 30



Detroit Black vets plan defense of busing

By Lee Artz

DETROIT—"We're interested in seeing that we don't have another Boston situation," said Robert Jones at a June 16 news conference here.

Speaking for the Interested Veterans for Sociological and Economic Progress (IVSEP), a Black Vietnam veterans' group, he announced that this organization will place 1,500 vets at the disposal of the NAACP to help ensure peaceful desegregation of the city's schools in the fall. It is expected that court-ordered busing will go into effect then.

The vets plan to ride along with the school buses to guard against racist attacks on the Black students.

Also speaking at the news conference was Joe Madison, executive secretary of the Detroit NAACP. He said, "Some members of the news media have tried to label this thing a vigilante effort, but we don't think that's it at all."

"This does not mean they will fight violence with violence, but these men are trained individuals, and are trained to maintain peace. They want to use their ability in Detroit to curtail any violence that might come up."

Jones told the media that "our

members are divided on the busing issue. I personally am not in favor of busing but I am in favor of quality education, and if it takes busing to do that then we'll abide by that." He explained that regardless of the differences within the group on busing, there was unanimous agreement to aid the NAACP because "the students involved [in busing] should not be subjected to violence."

The IVSEP was formed in 1970 by a small group of Black veterans to help Black vets obtain GI benefits. Since that time the organization has increasingly become involved in the broader issue of race discrimination. It has grown to the point where it has a staffed office on the Northwest side and holds regular membership meetings of several hundred.

Last fall the vets came to the aid of the Richardsons, a Black family that was subjected to racist harassment when they moved into the predominantly white suburb of Dearborn.

Tony Carruthers, a leader of IVSEP, told the *Militant*, "When they began throwing rocks at the family and vandalizing their home, we sent twenty to thirty veterans up there, unarmed, but dressed in their battle



Racists burned these buses in Pontiac, Michigan, in 1971. Black vets want to stop similar violence in Detroit.

fatigues—just to stand around for a few days.

"The Richardsons haven't had any problems since then. Our mere presence helped prevent violence."

Carruthers said that since the June 16 news conference, "our phones have been ringing off the hook with other veterans volunteering to ride with the school buses this fall."

Some of the local newspapers have decried the fact that the vets are not relying on the police to protect Black

students. Carruthers responded to this:

"The polls have shown that 61 percent of the Detroit Police Officers Association opposes busing, so we don't think they'll be real harsh on stopping the racists from roaming free—just like they did in Boston."

"What we say to the press is that the police may be the first line of defense, but we're the second. And we're going to be watching the police to make sure. . . . We're going to be riding those buses to maintain peace."

The Cointelpro Papers (Part 10)

FBI's 'New Left' disruption operation

By Nancy Cole

Two local bureaus of the FBI conspired with police and school officials in Austin, Texas, in 1969 and 1970 to fire a member of the Socialist Workers party, described, even by the FBI, as an "intelligent, excellent teacher who was well qualified in her field." This action is one of dozens of incidents of illegal harassment and victimization documented in newly released papers from the FBI's secret files.

The latest set of documents was disclosed by the FBI under court order in conjunction with the SWP's unprecedented lawsuit against the FBI, CIA, and other government agencies. Filed by attorneys Leonard Boudin and Herbert Jordan, the suit aims to put an end to government persecution of individuals whose only "crimes" are their advocacy of socialist ideas.

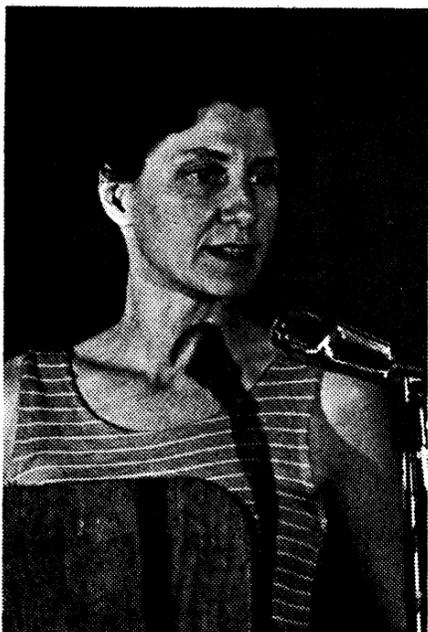
The new documents are part of the FBI's "Cointelpro [Counterintelligence Program]-New Left." In addition to this program, other Cointelpros were devised specifically to disrupt and destroy Black organizations, Puerto Rican independence groups, the SWP, and the Communist party.

As part of the pretrial proceedings, a federal judge has ordered the government to produce all its files on the SWP and the Young Socialist Alliance. This resulted in the release last March of more than 3,000 pages of the "SWP Disruption Program" and investigative reports on the SWP.

Earlier articles in this series have analyzed these 3,000 pages and reproduced many of the documents. (Issues containing the documents are still available from the *Militant* at twenty-five cents a copy.)

The new documents were made public June 24 by the Political Rights Defense Fund, the group organizing public support and financing for the SWP and YSA suit.

The FBI claims that the ninety-eight files consisting of 256 pages comprise its entire campaign to disrupt the SWP and YSA under the Cointelpro-New Left program, except for two documents that "would disclose sensitive



Militant/Brian Shannon

Despite her excellent recommendations as a teacher, FBI hounded SWP member Evelyn Sell out of her job.

and privileged information" and two other documents that "would tend to identify confidential informants or sources."

'Era of disruption'

The Cointelpro-New Left was begun in May 1968. "Our Nation is undergoing an era of disruption and violence caused to a large extent by various individuals generally connected with the New Left," stated the FBI memorandum initiating the program. "They continually and falsely allege police brutality and do not hesitate to utilize unlawful acts to further their so-called causes."

The entire Cointelpro operation was allegedly discontinued in 1971 for "security reasons," and local bureaus were informed that counterintelligence actions from then on would be considered on an individual basis. The program was ordered "terminated" the month after a break-in at the Media, Pennsylvania, FBI offices, when some Cointelpro documents were taken.

In the discontinuance memorandum dated April 27, 1971, the program was evaluated as a success. The memo, obviously designed for future public release, continued, "[The actions] have been carefully supervised with all actions being afforded prior Bureau approval and an effort has been made to avoid engaging in harassment." (Emphasis added.)

Even with the excessive deletions in the newly disclosed files—28 of the 256 pages are entirely censored ("excised")—the real intent of the program is unmistakable. The counterintelligence actions were aimed not at stemming an "era of violence," but at harassing and intimidating the "New Left" out of existence.

Cointelpro—New Left was concerned primarily with combating the radicalization taking place among high school and college students. Students, teachers, and parents alike were subjected to FBI anonymous letters, anonymous leaflets and newsletters, and anonymous attempts to bar political groups from campuses.

One of the major targets was the Young Socialist Alliance, a group that the FBI noted had a potential for substantial growth and influence on American campuses.

"The FBI fought to keep us off the campuses because they knew that the YSA was helping to organize a powerful movement against the Vietnam war," YSA leader Nan Bailey says. "They feared the YSA because we refused to be intimidated, because we fought for our right to function on the campuses, and we won."

No violence

The proof that violence in the student movement was in no way the motive for the program exists in the FBI files themselves. Over and over again the FBI is forced to admit that there has been no violence and that, to the contrary, the YSA has "continually stated that they do not wish to have confrontations with the police, nor to cause violence which might result in an arrest."

At one point, the El Paso, Texas, bureau notes that no violence has been

initiated by students there "except for a fight between some students at the UTEP-BYU [University of Texas at El Paso—Brigham Young University] football game which resulted in four arrests."

What is also clear from the documents—more so than from previous ones—is the extent to which the federal spies collaborate with local cops and other government agencies in their attempts to disrupt dissident groups.

SWP candidate

The case of the Austin teacher, Evelyn Sell, is especially instructive of FBI tactics. The San Antonio FBI commissioned the Detroit bureau to come up with some dirt on Sell. All they could find was that in 1968 she had run as an SWP candidate for the Michigan State Board of Education. It was all they needed.

This information was turned over to the Austin police, who in turn passed it along to the Austin Independent School District. Sell's contract was not renewed at the end of the 1970 school year.

This is where the FBI files end. But according to Sell, the FBI hounded her at her next job up until January 1972, long after the Cointelpro operation was allegedly discontinued in April 1971.

"They just didn't call it 'Cointelpro' after 1971," says Syd Stapleton, national secretary of the Political Rights Defense Fund. "Now they call it 'investigative activity.' But we call it illegal political persecution. And we think we'll have a good chance to convince a jury of that, too."

Two other teachers were the targets of "poison pen" letters intended to alert their superiors and others to the danger in allowing socialists to influence the "fertile" minds of students.

In 1968 anonymous letters were also sent to the parents of two Oberlin College students participating in a hunger strike to protest the war in Vietnam. The letters expressed concern about the students' health and academic standings, and then warned of the pernicious guidance of the YSA in the strike.

The FBI gave material to the Cleveland Educational Research Council of America in 1970 alleging YSA "control" of the Student Mobilization Committee. This was to be included in material distributed by the ERCA to high school systems in the Cleveland area. It was believed that this "could substantially curtail problems of high school student agitation before they begin."

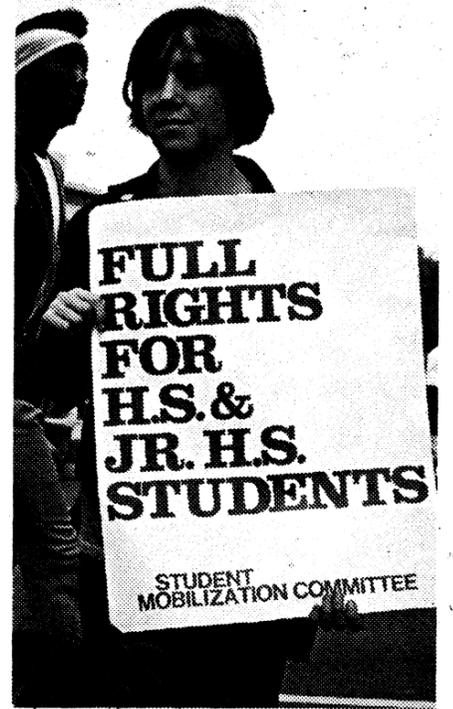
'Armageddon News'

Nearly half of the files concern the Indianapolis bureau's campaign to destroy the antiwar movement, the YSA, and other radical groups at Indiana University in Bloomington. For this crusade the FBI created a newsletter called *Armageddon News*.

Published "surreptitiously" over two semesters, the purpose of the newsletter, according to the FBI, was to "prevent any nonLeftist students from being duped into joining the groups of the New Left."

Despite efforts by the FBI headquarters in Washington to edit it into an apparently liberal-leaning publication with some appeal to the students it was aimed at, the *Armageddon News* came off as a right-wing scandal sheet. According to former students at Indiana University, it had zero impact on the antiwar movement there.

In motivating the character of the newsletter, the national headquarters wrote Indianapolis, "The next issue (Volume 1, Number 2) and subsequent material must contain a more sophisticated approach with regards to the situation at Indiana University and in relation to the broad protest movement in this country. Your leaflet should be prepared ostensibly by students who, while disagreeing with the Vietnam war policy and so forth, nevertheless



Militant/Mark Satinoff

FBI hoped distribution of red-baiting material on SMC to Cleveland high school administrators would curtail 'student agitation.'

deplore subversive elements on and off campus who are using these issues for their own purposes."

Subsequent issues included such language as "We all want an end to this war and we have a right to protest our government's participation therein."

In addition to the newsletter, the FBI infiltrated the YSA in Bloomington in order to bring about a "split in philosophy" in what it characterized as the only group on campus with a "degree of organizational structure."

The documents reveal a particular FBI concern with the expansion of the YSA into new areas of the country. One place was Houston, where both the FBI and the Texas Department of Public Safety (state police) wanted desperately to drive the YSA off the University of Houston campus.

The FBI reasoned that only an order directly from the governor could successfully accomplish this. The opportunity for such action appeared after local ultraleftists disrupted a campus speech by Gov. Preston Smith.

The DPS then released a statement charging that responsibility for the incident lay with the YSA, and Governor Smith was only too willing to smooth his ruffled feathers by giving the go ahead for the YSA ban.

The fact that the ban was never put into effect is not explained in the FBI records.

Another cause of FBI alarm was the growing influence of the YSA in Atlanta. After a period of disagree-

Support PRDF

The Political Rights Defense Fund is publicizing and raising funds for the socialists' suit against government harassment.

You can help the PRDF in this important effort by sending a donation today.

Clip and mail to: PRDF, Box 649 Cooper Station, New York, N.Y. 10003.

() Enclosed is my contribution of \$ _____

() Please send me more information.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

State _____ Zip _____

The Cointelpro Papers

ment in the local antiwar coalition, the FBI feared that the Revolutionary Youth Movement (RYM—a split-off from the Students for a Democratic Society) was going to cooperate with the YSA in organizing antiwar activities. This prompted an anonymous letter to a RYM leader charging manipulation of RYM by the "Trotskyists."

The Atlanta FBI was also behind a red-baiting article on the YSA in the *Atlanta Constitution* in 1968 headlined, "Mao-Tinged Socialists Backing GI Day March."

Other Cointelpro actions described in the documents include:

- In 1969 the Washington headquarters approved a plan to mail anonymous letters to state legislators, board of regents members of the University of Minnesota, American Legion and Veterans of Foreign Wars commanders, and others in order to pressure them to cancel the national YSA convention scheduled to take place at the University of Minnesota in Minneapolis.

But when the mayor of Fridley, Minnesota, publicly challenged the YSA's right to use campus facilities, the ensuing publicity worked in the socialists' favor. Consequently, the anonymous letter plan was dropped.

"The Minneapolis Office . . . has expressed its concern over actions of a sabotage nature ultimately resulting in a backfiring effect," the local FBI ruefully reported to the Washington office.

- While spying on a member of the YSA in 1970 in Tampa, Florida, an FBI agent observed her cashing a check in a grocery store. "Subsequent inquiries" disclosed the check had insufficient funds to cover it. Before she could have even made a deposit to cover the check, the FBI "confidentially" passed this information on to the local police.

This resulted in her arrest—at gunpoint—by a cop from the intelligence unit.

Although the charge was dismissed, the FBI report indicates that it temporarily upset the activities of the Tampa YSA and allowed the intelligence unit to inspect her apartment during the arrest.

Airlines alerted

- Airlines in San Diego were alerted by the FBI to the plans of a YSA member to use his youth fare card to purchase a ticket for another member traveling to New York City for the 1969 SWP national convention. The person intending to use the ticket was twenty-seven years old and "not entitled to student rates," the FBI report said.

The goal of this counterintelligence action was to embarrass the individual and to "reflect on the SWP."

While the files outline a campaign of flagrant denial of constitutional rights by a government agency, it is only an outline.

"If it takes 114 pages to detail the operation at Indiana University," says Stapleton, "imagine the FBI's work at Columbia or Berkeley. Imagine the staggering volume of political police work carried out on the hundreds of campuses with active student movements, most of which is still being hidden from the American people."

Before the SWP's suit comes to trial in early 1976, even more secret files are expected to be released, including documents from Military Intelligence, the Secret Service, and the CIA's top-secret "Operation CHAOS."

In response to the latest disclosure of FBI files, SWP vice-presidential candidate Willie Mae Reid issued a statement on June 25. "We have a right to know what the government is doing behind our backs," Reid said. "We demand an end to the secrecy that shrouds the crimes of the FBI, the CIA, and other agencies. These political-police agencies must be abolished and their files opened to the American people."

ARMAGEDDON NEWS

Vol. 1, #2 Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana 10/25/68

PURPOSE

As set out in our first "Armageddon News" issue, we students are concerned for the need for truth within our antiwar movement at Indiana University. As students, we feel the war in Vietnam is a political and military travesty, foisted on the American people by an unsympathetic administration, an administration unmindful of the will of the people. This situation, we can, and should deal with at the polls. The truth of the situation here at IU, however, is that this dissatisfaction with national policy is being used by a few to seize the university and to strike at the heart of the democratic system. We will simply point out the truth of this situation and you be the judge.

The Committee to End the War in Vietnam (CEWV)

Last year, members of the CEWV made an attempt to take over an academic building at IU, assaulting the police and violating the law in the process. They apparently thought that they were "different" and "above the law." This group felt free to use illegal methods to achieve their end. The big question now is just what was that end? Of the 35 arrested, all were convicted.

Last semester, Russell Block and Mark Ritchey set up a puppet by the name of Eric Shepard to act as Chairman of the CEWV. If you will look closely, you will find that Block and Ritchey, both members of the Young Socialist Alliance, pulled the strings for Shepard to jump. These people are the "manipulators" at IU and have the greatest influence on the "New Left" through the CEWV.

Last semester, Block and Ritchey announced the CEWV sponsorship of a series of lectures on "Socialism" and "The Communist Manifesto." These lectures were given, in part,

by an officer of the Young Socialist Alliance, Ralph Smith, a former IU student. Smith is now the State Chairman of the Socialist Workers Party's campaign and is presently running for Senator on the Socialist Workers Party ticket in the State of Indiana. What we want to know is what relationship do the terms "Socialism" and "The Communist Manifesto" have to do with a free people's rights and attempts to protect the policy of their government.

If this is the way the CEWV is to act, let's not be duped by its name. It's no longer a committee to end the war in Vietnam, no longer a forum for just dissent. It's a recruiting ground for subversion.

We all want an end to this war and we have a right to protest our government's participation therein. Ask yourself, then, what can be the true purpose of those who want to use your name and your energy for their objectives. It's surely worth your time and your effort to inquire substantiating into organizations and causes that entreat your support.

A case in point is that the campus newspaper on 5/24/68 reported that CEWV is making plans to support the "International Days of Solidarity," planned by the Student Publications Committee (SMC) for the week of 10/21/68, and a large antiwar demonstration planned at IU for 10/26/68. Let's find out who we are declaring ourselves in solidarity with and what this Student Publications Committee really is. It wouldn't be surprising to find a considerable covey of SWP'ers behind it.

"DON'T LET THE FBI LEFT MEN AND ARMAGEDDON AT IU"

FBI
Date: 10/9/70

the following

AIRTEL AIR MAIL

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, HOUSTON

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
IS - DISRUPTION OF THE NEW LEFT

RE: NO airtel, 10/1/70.

On 10/7/70, Governor PRESTON SMITH, who was invited to speak at the University of Houston (UH), was subjected to boos and remarks by unruly individuals in the audience. Because of the disrespect shown the Governor, he departed the UH and did not deliver the speech which he had planned. Immediately thereafter, the President, Mr. HOFFMAN of the UH, directed a telegram to Governor SMITH apologizing for the treatment he received at the University. Subsequently, Governor SMITH was reported in the Houston newspapers as stating that if state officials invited to speak at state supported colleges and universities are subjected to the rude and unruly actions of certain people connected with the university and if university officials cannot control this situation, the state would seek other methods to control it.

at a YSA meeting, the members were considerably upset as they were blamed for the actions taken by certain people against Governor SMITH on 10/7/70.

Further, on 10/9/70, Department of Public Safety (DPS), Houston, Texas, advised that the Governor was extremely upset with the treatment he received at the UH and has assigned six attorneys on his staff to look into the situation. intends to present a proposal to the Governor in the immediate future to have YSA and other radical groups eliminated as recognized campus organizations. It is noted that YSA is a

recognized organization at the UH and regularly uses university facilities for their meetings. It is noted that the Houston Division approximately one week ago, conferred with personnel of the Security Department of the UH in an effort to devise some method to eliminate the YSA as a recognized campus group. It was felt at that time that anything short of a directive from the Governor's Office would not be successful in eliminating YSA from UH.

Due to the development with Governor SMITH on 10/7/70, it is felt that the time is right to propose to the Governor through the DPS that YSA be eliminated and this matter is being closely followed by the Houston Office with DPS.

It is felt that if YSA is removed as a recognized organization from the UH, this will cause them great hardship and considerable money and be an effective method of controlling YSA whereas they are presently operating wide open with free and continual access to meeting rooms on the campus and the privilege of passing out their papers and literature among the students at the UH.

The Bureau will be kept advised as to the developments in this matter.

Documents 1-2: 'Armageddon News' was published and distributed secretly by FBI for two semesters at Indiana University in Bloomington. Intended to appeal to students against the war, its right-wing slanders had no effect on the campus antiwar movement. Documents 3-4: 1970 FBI memorandum outlined campaign to drive YSA off University of Houston campus. Agency had cooperation of Department of Public Safety (state police) and Texas governor in this effort.



FBI pressure campaign to cancel facilities for 1969 YSA national convention at University of Minnesota backfired when publicity worked in YSA's favor.

Defend Black rights

Two crucial issues will confront the NAACP convention being held in Washington, D.C., June 30-July 4—the struggle to beat back the racist attacks on school desegregation and the fight to keep the victories over discriminatory hiring practices from being erased by the current layoffs.

Boston has been the front line of the battle over school desegregation. The lessons of Boston can aid defenders of desegregation when court-ordered busing goes into effect in other cities this fall.

Boston students risked life and limb seeking an equal education while government officials, from President Ford to the mayor of Boston, refused to take action to check the racist violence.

The May 17 countermobilization for school desegregation, initiated by the Boston NAACP, provided an effective answer to the racists. Such independent mobilizations of Blacks and their allies are the best way to guarantee that the laws on school desegregation will be enforced. The example of May 17 and the initiative of the Boston NAACP should be duplicated wherever racist violence appears.

On the jobs front, the NAACP has come under heavy fire from conservative union officials who are willing to see Blacks and women go back to the days of “last hired, first fired.”

The NAACP has called for adjusting the seniority system so that layoffs don't hit recently hired Blacks and women disproportionately. This position has become a subject of hot debate in the labor and Black movements.

At a recent conference of the A. Philip Randolph Institute, William Pollard of the AFL-CIO's Civil Rights Department denounced NAACP labor director Herbert Hill as “irresponsible” for his strong stand in defense of Black job gains.

The AFL-CIO Executive Council has taken issue with the NAACP and others who propose modifications in the seniority system to protect minority rights. By refusing to stand up for the rights of the most oppressed, the Meany leadership is throwing a roadblock in the way of the labor unity that is essential to a successful fight against layoffs.

A firm commitment by the NAACP to continue the fight for real equality in hiring and promotion will aid the struggle of all workers against the devastating impact of the economic crisis.

CIA threat

The twisted world of the CIA, revealed in small part by the report of the Rockefeller commission, was described in a recent *New York Times* editorial as “an embryonic police state.”

The *Times* editors were not exaggerating. The CIA was given license to carry out assassination plots, break-ins, tapping of thousands of phone calls, and interception of thousands of letters.

The CIA ran its own spy laboratories and even its own prison; its agents were immune from prosecution for illegal acts under a secret agreement between the CIA and the Justice Department.

The CIA was founded in 1947 as a weapon to be used against the colonial freedom struggle and against those countries that had already overthrown capitalism. Inevitably, this weapon was also used against those in this country, like the anti-Vietnam War movement, who challenged Washington's imperialist policies.

This “embryonic police state” was built within the framework of a bourgeois democratic society, in which certain democratic rights—such as freedom of speech, press, and assembly—are generally recognized. But the method of operation of the CIA is an expression of the long-run drive of monopoly capitalism to restrict and deny the most fundamental democratic rights. That is why the American people have such a big stake in exposing the CIA crimes to full view.

The recommendations of bodies such as the Rockefeller commission to “reform” the CIA will not change the purpose and methods of the CIA—nor were they meant to. All that will change is that the superspies will be more careful to cover the trail of their sordid crimes.

The best answer to the continued efforts to cover up the truth about the crimes of the CIA, the FBI, and other secret police agencies is to continue to demand that the hidden government files be opened. An effective vehicle for this is the suit brought by the Socialist Workers party and Young Socialist Alliance, which has already unearthed a number of those files.

This suit, demanding a halt to all government surveillance and harassment, deserves support from everyone who wants to put the “embryonic police state” out of business.

They never negotiate

On February 27, Bernardo Escamilla, a Wounded Knee defendant, and three of his attorneys were beaten on the Pine Ridge Reservation.

On March 1 and 2, in South Dakota and Colorado, twenty people associated with the American Indian Movement were jailed in three separate incidents. Among those arrested were Russell Means and Richard Marshall. In Hot Springs, South Dakota, seven people were held by a county sheriff on “criminal syndicalism” charges. In Denver, five people were arrested.

Means and others are still facing trial in Phoenix, Arizona, in another frame-up.

On April 6 it was reported that Brothers John Hill and Charles Pernalice—both American Indians—were found guilty in the Attica uprising and sent to jail.

On June 8 Russell Means was shot in the abdomen during a scuffle with Bureau of Indian Affairs police.

In today's world, you have no chance if you are Indian. If you fight for your rights they declare you a militant, they shoot you or throw you in their jails.

We saw what happened at Wounded Knee. They never try to negotiate—that is, Richard Wilson, the BIA, and the FBI and the marshals. Instead of that they try to kill my people just like in Wounded Knee 1890.

*Skouk Psaklazi
Albany, New York*

Best of all

Enclosed is a check for one dollar for a two-month subscription to the *Militant*. Your paper is the best of all the progressive papers! I enjoy it. Please send it as soon as possible.

*K.O.
Brooklyn, New York*

Informative

Please renew my subscription under your prisoner aid program. Hopefully in the near future we will be paid for our labors here and I will be able to pay for my subscription.

Yours is the best-read non-prison-movement publication here. The article [March 28] you did on Willie Mae Reid's campaign in Chicago and the Communist party's refusal to back her was very informative. This turned a lot of prisoners off to the *Daily World* and the CP in general. George Jackson had a philosophy about those who stand with the pig.

*A prisoner
Oklahoma*

Cops & the 'Daily World'

According to the *Militant*, the June 12 “Rally for Public Safety” organized by New York cops and prison guards was completely reactionary. These armed thugs of the capitalist state demonstrated to demand that Mayor Beame cut social services rather than lay off any of them.

Not everybody saw it that way. In fact, the rally received a glowing write-up the next day in the Communist party's *Daily World*.

Daily World reporter Mike Gioncondo approvingly cited a turnout of “several thousand” cops “despite the heavy rain” and without a word of criticism quoted their signs: “First and Top Priority, Police and Firemen” and “Police and Firefighters—city's first line of defense.”

Gioncondo interviewed cop leader

Ken McFeeley, who told him: “We are starting a campaign to ask the public to help us, to write letters to Mayor Beame and City Council members.”

The Stalinist reporter didn't see fit to mention that this campaign is a racist drive to make sure Beame takes the budget cuts out on the Black, Puerto Rican, and Chinese communities instead of cops.

Does the CP believe that cops and prison guards serve a useful role in capitalist society? Do they regard cops as part of the working class, and their associations as unions?

Intriguing possibilities are opened up. Perhaps, in the spirit of détente, exchange visits could be arranged between Soviet and American cops, so that New York's finest can pick up a few pointers on treatment of political dissidents and oppressed nationalities from the experts in Moscow.

*G.A.
New York, New York*

A penny saved?

There's an old saying, “Figures don't lie, but liars can figure.” This adage was proven correct again when officials of the California state health program for the poor (Medi-Cal) announced they had found a way to save taxpayers money by charging Medi-Cal recipients one dollar for the first two visits to a doctor.

The officials had claimed this would cut unnecessary or frivolous visits to doctors. Sure enough, their experiment from January 1972 to July 1973 proved that Medi-Cal patients who had to pay the dollar went to the doctor less often and the state, therefore, shelled out less money.

Researchers at the University of California at Los Angeles, however, compared office visits with hospitalizations and found that Medi-Cal recipients who had to pay for office visits had a higher rate of hospitalization than those who were not required to make such payments. The UCLA researchers concluded that patients put off medical care until their problem became so great they were forced to seek aid and then had to be hospitalized.

Charging for office visits not only endangered the health of patients; the researchers calculated that the experiment cost California taxpayers \$1,228,150 more in medical expenses.

*Evelyn Sell
Los Angeles, California*

To very good use

A few months ago I sent in a subscription renewal. Through either the inefficiency of the post office or the diligence of the secret police, you didn't receive it. Through the efforts of one of your salespeople, you did enter a one-year sub for me. Thanks for your trust and thanks for the good word in the *Militant*.

Since I sent in the first renewal I have begun receiving paychecks with less withholding tax being taken out because of the recently passed tax bill. I would like to put this extra money to good use, so please use half of the enclosed check for a prisoner subscription.

*Dennis Frobish
Nashville, Tennessee*

Persuade, don't demand

I would like to comment on the article in your May 9 issue about the Chinese Trotskyists still in Mao's prisons. In the article, you asked your

international SOCIALIST review

The Fight for Equal Education in Boston: Year One of the Busing Struggle



By Chuck Petrin

One year ago, on June 21, 1974, Federal District Court Judge Arthur Garrity issued an important decision on segregation in the Boston public schools. Acting on a suit filed by the NAACP, Garrity found the Boston School Committee guilty of a decade-long conspiracy to restrict Black students to inferior schools. He ordered the school committee to "dismantle the dual system" at once.

By the opening day of schools last fall, the bitter controversy in this city over court-ordered school desegregation had exploded into a head-on confrontation in the streets. Not since the height of the civil rights movement had the struggle been joined so fiercely.

Racist mobs mounted a violent cam-

paign to stop Black students from coming into white schools. The violence reached the stage of near lynchings.

For weeks, this offensive went virtually unanswered. The whole weight of the local and federal governments came down on the side of the racists.

But the Black freedom struggle in Boston was not beaten. Over the following months a new movement was born, a movement that would begin to turn back the racist drive.

* * *

The Garrity decision cited evidence culled from previously secret school department records and from transcripts of school committee meetings, concluding that school authorities "knowingly carried out a systematic program of segregation affecting all of the city's students, teachers, and school facilities and . . . intentionally brought

about and maintained a dual school system."

Garrity proposed, as a first step, that a desegregation plan already drawn up by the Massachusetts State Board of Education be implemented in September. The plan, designed to reduce the number of segregated schools by one-third, called for the busing of about 17,000 students.

For the Black community in Boston, the Garrity decision was a long-overdue victory.

Nine years earlier, a militant struggle by Blacks had resulted in passage of an "emergency act" outlawing de facto segregation in all public schools. The Racial Imbalance Law, as it was called, was considered at the time to be a landmark in civil rights legislation.

But the school committee blocked its implementation, squandering more than a quarter of a million dollars on

bogus court challenges. The law was never enforced.

After nine long years of sabotage of the Racial Imbalance Law, the federal court order was an important victory.

"There's room for rejoicing," remarked Ellen Jackson after hearing the decision, "but there's a long, arduous task ahead of us."

Ellen Jackson was a veteran of the early civil rights battles in Boston. Together with other Black leaders, she helped to initiate a Community Information Center, based at the Freedom House, to begin the process of preparing the Black community for "Phase One."

Meetings were held each week to discuss parents' concerns. Uppermost in everyone's mind was the question of safety. If they were to be bused day after day into hostile white neighborhoods, the students would need protec-

Continued on page ISR/3

George Novack: Organizers of the First American Revolution

THE MONTH IN REVIEW

In June important new developments occurred in the revolutionary upsurge in Portugal. The central issue was the confrontation over the May 20 closing of the newspaper *República*, which reflects the views of the Socialist party.

The shutdown was begun by the newspaper's production workers, encouraged by members of the Portuguese Communist party, who disagreed with the editorial policy of the Socialist party editors. The newspaper's plant was then sealed by the government of the Armed Forces Movement (MFA).

After a protest demonstration of about 60,000 Socialist party supporters, the MFA agreed on June 6 to turn the offices back over to the Socialist party editors. However, this was never carried out, and the newspaper remains closed on orders of the military junta.

The MFA and the Communist party claim that the *República* affair has nothing to do with suppression of freedom of the press. Their story is that it is simply a labor-management dispute, in which the printers are justly demanding workers' control of the newspaper.

The American Stalinist newspaper, the *Daily World*, tried to explain in its June 10 issue that what was really involved was an extension of democracy, rather than suppression of freedom of the press. "In the new Portugal," said the article, "freedom of opinion and expression' has been extended to ordinary workers, apparently to the indignation of [*República* publisher Raul] Rego."

We will leave aside the fact that neither the MFA nor the CP favors the application of effective workers' control over the economic life of the country. In the *República* case, "workers' control" of editorial policy has nothing to do with extending freedom of expression to the workers. It is a caricature of democracy.

Democratic rights mean the freedom of expression and assembly of organized currents based on ideas, not only the right of individuals to express their ideas. Even though *República* was not the official organ of the Socialist party, it is well known to reflect the views of that party.

Why should the printers, a small number of workers dominated by the Stalinists and their allies, have the right to determine *República's* content? What about the editorial workers, who disagree with the printers? And what about the thousands of workers who belong to the Socialist party and look to *República* as their paper? Doesn't the CP think they have any right to "freedom of opinion and expression"?

In the case of *República*, "workers' control" was only a demagogic cover for silencing one of the few newspapers left in Portugal that

carry criticism of the government and the CP. The *Daily World* itself testified to this, complaining that SP publisher Rego "had been filling the columns of the paper with vitriolic denunciations not only of the PCP [Portuguese Communist party] but also of the Armed Forces Movement."

What were these "vitriolic denunciations"? In its issues before the shutdown, *República* had printed such things as: a list of seventy persons (reportedly all well known as opponents of the Salazarist dictatorship) that the Stalinists were preparing to purge from the television network; a report on dissidents in the metalworkers union who opposed a proposal by the CP for lengthening the work-week; and coverage of a strike wave that began in early May.

The criticisms of the CP and MFA printed in *República* did not stem from any fundamental difference of perspective between the CP and SP; both support the MFA regime and want to prevent the struggle of the Portuguese workers from going beyond the bounds of capitalism. But the SP knows it can make some political gains by trying to differentiate itself from the open strikebreaking policies of the CP.

The clampdown on *República* is only one aspect of the MFA's general policy of cutting back on the rights won by the masses. The MFA is attempting to salvage the capitalist economy of Portugal from its deepening crisis. According to the MFA and the CP, the workers should devote themselves to the "battle for production," rather than worrying about the threat to their democratic right to freedom of the press, the right to strike, or the right to choose their own government.

On June 21 the MFA council issued a statement rejecting the alternative of proletarian rule in Portugal and reaffirming support for the capitalist military alliance, NATO. In addition, the council ordered the Constituent Assembly, elected last April 25, to confine its activity to writing a new constitution and to refrain from discussing any political questions. A majority in the Constituent Assembly is held by delegates of working-class parties.

The MFA statement projected new laws that would allow for "quick and decisive action" against any journalists who "intentionally distort the news" and present "a damaging picture" of Portugal.

This is a prescription for the reintroduction of censorship and the strengthening of a capitalist military dictatorship—albeit disguised in the rhetoric of "revolution" and "workers' control."

In addition to its clampdown on the rights of the Portuguese workers, the MFA regime still maintains an occupation force of 24,000 troops in Angola, in position to violate the right of the Angolans to self-determination.

The events in Portugal, and particularly the issue of *República*, are a test for every current in the working-class movement. The revolutionary process that began in Portugal a year ago has drawn the masses onto the political scene, searching for the means to move toward socialism. All theories and programs for social change are being tested.

In the past month the debate over *Repúbli-*

ca in particular has become an international debate, especially reaching into the trade unions and the Communist and Socialist parties of Western Europe.

The explosiveness of this issue stems from the objective importance of the question of democratic rights in the struggle for socialism throughout the world.

The capitalist politicians, for their part, have leaped on the *República* issue to try to discredit socialism as undemocratic in its very concept.

All those who claim to support socialism are faced with the question: What is the relationship between socialism and democratic rights?

The MFA leaders claim they are for socialism but insist that they alone must control the "revolutionary process"; the masses should not interfere with criticisms and demands. Meanwhile, the MFA administers the existing capitalist state and insists that the workers sacrifice to make the capitalists' businesses profitable.

The CP agrees that the only role for the masses is to support the MFA. While the MFA relies on the bureaucratic methods of the capitalist state, the CP promulgates the bureaucratic, antidemocratic methods of the Stalinist regime in the Soviet Union. To the CP, "socialism" means the rule of a privileged bureaucracy like that in the Soviet Union, stamping out any expression of independent views through police terror and thought-control methods.

The SP, for its part, offers no better vision of a road to the socialist future. What the SP stands for is shown by the performance of its Social Democratic colleagues around the world—the Willy Brandts, Harold Wilsons, and Golda Meirs. Their conception of democracy is merely electoral. They see it as the road to governmental posts, and their goal is simply to administer the capitalist status quo.

The concept of socialist revolution held by Marx and Engels, which was put into practice in the Russian revolution of 1917, has nothing in common with the Stalinist and Social Democratic conceptions. Marxists see the socialist revolution arising out of the conscious action of the great masses of people, not out of bureaucratic manipulation or the maneuvers of parliamentarians.

The Bolsheviks in the Soviet Union won majority support only after months of fierce debate among all the workers parties in the councils (soviets) of workers and soldiers' deputies. The Bolsheviks did not fear the competition of ideas in the soviets because they had confidence that their program would be proven correct through the experience of the masses under the capitalist regime.

Without the fullest democratic discussion of the ideas and programs of the different parties, coupled with the test of events, the Portuguese masses will be unable to come to grips with the complex problems of the fight for socialism and will be unable to forge a revolutionary party able to lead that fight. The issue of democratic rights is central to the success or failure of the revolutionary upsurge in Portugal.

CONTENTS

The Fight for Equal Education in Boston, by Chuck Petrin 1

Organizers of the First American Revolution, by George Novack 6

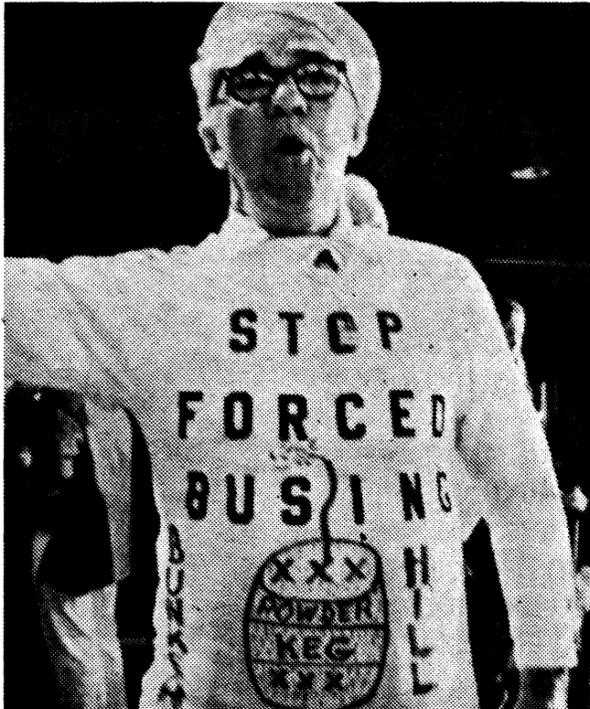
Letters	9
Anecdotes from Life in the USSR	10
Books	11



Editor: Caroline Lund
Associate editors: Nan Bailey, George Breitman, Fred Feldman, George Novack, Dick Roberts, Tony Thomas

The *International Socialist Review* appears in the *Militant* that is published the first week of every month.

Copyright © 1975 Militant Publishing Association



Continued from page ISR/1
tion and support.

"I want to go to high school," explained fifteen-year-old Ernst Hurd, "but I'll quit before I go to South Boston and get killed."

An appeal was made to churches and social service agencies for volunteers. At least thirty people were needed each day to staff the busy office—to answer questions and to provide emergency help for such things as transportation, child care, and legal advice.

Another 250 volunteers were recruited for "street duty." Their job: to go into the community and talk to the young Blacks who would be out there on the front lines and to ride the buses themselves each morning, as monitors, into those private preserves of the racists.

Meanwhile, the racists were preparing their campaign.

"We will fight in September!" declared Fran Johnene, a Hyde Park representative to the Home and School Association. "We won't necessarily act on legal sanctions."

The Home and School Association is the Boston equivalent of the PTA. It exists only in the white neighborhoods, and for more than a decade it has furnished the base and the apparatus for the segregationists.

In April of 1973, for example, the Home and School Association commandeered school supplies, duplicating machines, and mailing lists to publicize the first major demonstration to be held in Boston against school desegregation. Directives were issued to teachers to distribute flyers to students in their classrooms urging parents to turn out. School buses were even reserved to provide transportation! Ten thousand people turned out.

Since February, four months before the Garrity decision, the antibusing leaders had been holding secret meetings every Friday afternoon. Closeting themselves in the plush executive hearing room of the city council, they would discuss their plans for demonstrations, picket lines, lobbying, and vigils.

Over the spring, the racist campaign began to pick up steam. On April 3 the state legislature opened hearings on a bill to repeal the Racial Imbalance Law. Outside, 20,000 white parents marched in support. Three weeks later, after less than ten minutes of debate, the legisla-

Chuck Petrin was a member of the staff of the Boston Student Coalition Against Racism prior to the May 17 antiracist demonstration. He is a member of the National Committee of the Young Socialist Alliance.

ture voted overwhelmingly for repeal. Governor Francis Sargent vetoed the bill, but offered a substitute proposal to make desegregation "voluntary." The racists were delighted.

The federal court decision by Garrity in June superseded these moves, dealing a blow to the racists. But they were not about to give up. By July the weekly strategy meetings had to be moved to the full chambers of the city council in order to accommodate the 200 or more people who would regularly attend.

A name was adopted for the group: ROAR (Restore Our Alienated Rights). And a new battle plan was set into motion. On September 9 there was to be a rally in City Hall Plaza; after that, a two-week boycott of school by white students. And then there were the "contingencies." "If we had to," boasted Pat Ranese, a ROAR organizer in South Boston, "we could have everybody in South Boston informed and out marching within three or four hours."

The school committee, for its part, vowed to appeal the Garrity decision. In addition, it held out promises to the racists that it could secure federal antibusing legislation that would block desegregation.

On July 25 the committee got an unexpected boost from the U.S. Supreme Court, which turned its back on twenty years of prodesegregation rulings by reversing a court-ordered busing plan in Detroit. The plan would have linked the city's school system with those of the suburbs.

Meanwhile, the school committee delayed all the necessary preparations for Phase One. As the *Boston Globe* later observed, "It seemed as if the School Committee was determined that if busing was to come, it would be made as painful and disruptive as possible."

The opening of schools September 12 made national headlines. Across the city, tens of thousands of white students were honoring the racist boycott. But the center of attention was South Boston High School.

Fifty-six Black students came to desegregate "Southie" that day. The bus routes were covered with signs saying "Kill niggers" and "French fried niggers for sale."

As the buses rolled up to the school entrance, a posse of whites launched a barrage of eggs and fruit, beer and soda cans, and two-by-fours. Windows were shattered, spraying glass over the passengers. Several students and a bus monitor were injured. Guided by the monitors, the Blacks made their way at last into the school and back out again that afternoon. But as the buses returned down G Street back to the Black community of Roxbury, they were ambushed once more by neighborhood thugs armed with bottles and rocks.

"We're tired of goddam South Boston

living above the law!" declared Percy Wilson, director of the Roxbury Multi-Service Center.

That night, more than 300 angry Black parents jammed into the Freedom House auditorium. They had come to call the mayor to order: the racists must not be allowed to run roughshod over the desegregation order.

Some demanded that state police, national guard troops, or federal marshals be brought in to stop the racist violence.

As one mother put it, "I'm not just concerned about South Boston for education's sake. It's more than that. It's education and my children's rights as citizens."

The Black community was digging in for a fight. But in those first few weeks, it was the courage of the Black students themselves that proved decisive.

"Nobody's gonna stop me from getting my education," declared eleven-year-old Jenel Manor, a Black student on her way to school in South Boston. "I came back today to show them we weren't scared. If we stayed away, we would have done what they wanted us to do."

The violence continued to escalate. The racists charged that it was "the good people of South Boston" whose rights were being trampled on. They likened themselves to modern-day "Sons of Liberty" struggling to throw off the coercive power of "King" Garrity.

On September 21, ROAR organized a picket line of 2,000 people at the offices of the *Boston Globe*. The *Globe* had been cooperating fully with city officials in downplaying the racist attacks as "isolated incidents." But the racists insisted that even these timid accounts were a "smear."

The *Globe* responded by burying deeper its reports on bus stonings and provocations by white mobs, pointing to the "justified fears" about street crime in Roxbury. This was the kind of coverage of desegregation that was later to win the *Globe* a Pulitzer Prize.

This policy of the press, which tried to block out any voices raised in defense of the Black community, was one of the capitulations by city institutions that spurred the racists to be all the bolder in their campaign.

By this time South Boston was almost totally off limits for Blacks. In Andrew Square one afternoon, a mob of white youths attacked and beat a lone Black man waiting for a bus. A Black cab driver had a brick thrown through his windshield while dropping off a fare at one of the housing projects.

Night riders began roaming the all-Black Columbia Point housing project, adjacent to South Boston, harassing residents with catcalls and sniper fire.

When demands by the residents for police protection were ignored, they organized their own "observation patrols." The racists cried "foul," prompting the mayor to order in cops to disband the patrols.

ROAR stepped up the pressure. For three successive weekends since the opening of school they had gathered together their supporters, whipping up a frenzy in neighborhood rallies and motorcades.

But the real show of force was yet to come. October 4 was "National Boycott Day," with organizers claiming "solidarity" activities in four cities. Boston school officials reported the lowest attendance of white students for any day during the school year. That afternoon, an estimated 7,000 to 10,000 whites marched in South Boston. In the front ranks stood the entire nine-member city council, members of the school committee, and several prominent state legislators.

"This is no time for the faint of heart," said State Sen. William Bulger. "The enemy can go straight to hell."

On Monday afternoon, October 7, the "enemy" at hand was one André Jean-Louis, a Black immigrant from Haiti, who was on his way through South Boston to pick up his wife at work. He was nearly lynched by a mob of whites who dragged him out of his car as he was waiting at a stop sign.

"Serves you right, nigger" was the reported response of Elvira Palladino, a ROAR organizer from East Boston, as she watched the near lynching on television. She was said to have leaped to her feet and yelled: "What were you doing in Southie anyway?"

On September 15, Boston NAACP President Thomas Atkins addressed a letter to Garrity suggesting that additional forces might be needed, in the form of federal marshals, to enforce the court order in South Boston. Two days later Garrity rejected the idea.

The Black community faced a turning point. The vicious attack on Jean-Louis signaled a new stage in the racist offensive. The need for federal protection became an urgent and emphatic demand.

"We need at least a division of federal troops," declared Reverend Rafe Taylor, "with tanks, ack-ack guns, machine guns, grenades, and bazookas and everything else—to put down the rock throwing and intimidation."

Echoing this sentiment, the NAACP, the five-member legislative Black Caucus, the Black Ministerial Alliance, and others issued an appeal to the Congressional Black Caucus in Washington to exert its authority to demand that federal troops be sent to Boston.

The Black community was literally fighting for its life. It was sorely in need of allies.

Democratic and Republican politicians alike all buckled under to ROAR, thus boosting the confidence of the racists. Mayor Kevin White and Governor Francis Sargent had cast their lots with the racists long ago, declaring that desegregation was "unworkable" in Boston. On October 9 President Ford added his voice to the chorus, stating that he, too, had been "consistently opposed to forced busing to achieve racial balance."

Just as detrimental as the aid and comfort given to the racists by the government officials was the retreat by the liberal politicians and journalists.

Sen. Edward Kennedy, known for his opposition to segregation in the South, said as little as possible on the issue in Boston. He refused to place his considerable authority on the side of the Black students.

Together with Sen. Edward Brooke, Kennedy remained a staunch proponent of the theory that "the real issue isn't busing. The real issue is what's at the end of the bus ride," meaning the quality of the schools.

At a time when "the end of the bus ride" for Black students meant racist mobs trying to turn them back, the senators' response was strikingly evasive.

Yet another example of how weak-kneed the liberals were came during the state election campaign for governor. For this election, which had been ballyhooed by the media as "The Great Debate," the Democratic and Republican party candidates made a pact to not discuss the issue of desegregation. For weeks on end during the fall, as the racist violence intensified, they adhered scrupulously to their agreement. Not once during the campaign did either candidate even make a statement dissociating himself from the racists.

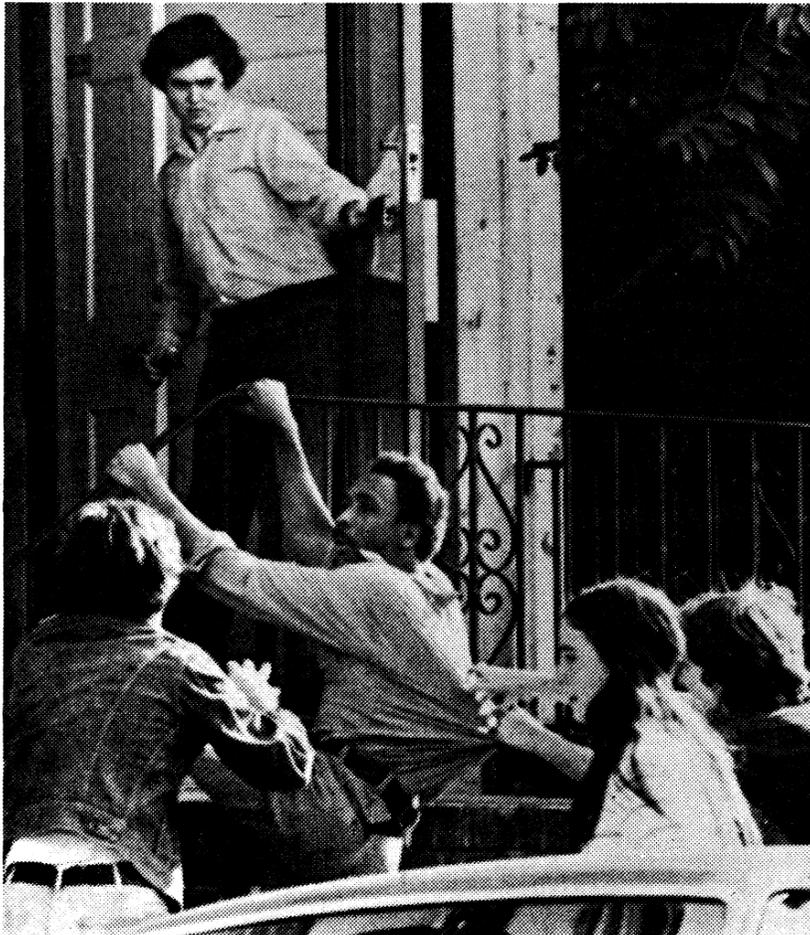
The popular weekly newspapers and magazines in Boston pursued a common penchant for "investigative"-type articles, probing what they saw as the "complex issue" of busing and professing the need to "understand" what the whites in South Boston were feeling.

Ramparts magazine, a national liberal monthly, approached the question from a somewhat different angle, though with the same basic conclusion. Contributing editor Andrew Kopkind, in a feature article published in the December-January (1974-1975) issue, scorns the busing of Blacks into South Boston as "a crazy idea" based on "the integrative dreams of another era." He argues that whites will never accept Blacks in their schools.

The capitulation to the racists extended even into groups claiming to be radical or socialist. The most blatant example was the Maoist Revolutionary Union, which went so far as to adopt the same slogan (Stop busing) and symbol (a stop sign) that the racists were using. Other groups tried to avoid confronting the racists on the busing question, saying the real issue was "quality education"—another subterfuge used by the racists as well. The Communist party and Young Workers Liberation League gave lip service to support for busing, but carried out no campaign of education or of action on the issue. At the height of preparations for the May 17 antiracist demonstration in Boston, the YWLL publicly withdrew its support from the National Coalition Against Racism, one of the main builders of the demonstration.

The Socialist Workers party and the Young Socialist Alliance were virtually the only socialist organizations that forthrightly defended the right of Blacks to be bused to any school they wanted to attend, and called for the application of all force necessary, including federal troops, to enforce desegregation.

Despite the capitulation by the liberals and most of the Left, there were those who began to see the need for a visible response to the racist offensive.



Lynch mob grabs at André Jean-Louis, who was beaten before being rescued by police.

Their numbers were small at first and their protests scattered, but they set an example that would prove invaluable.

In late September, Black students at the University of Massachusetts sponsored a meeting of more than 500 people, mostly young Blacks from the Columbia Point housing project, to protest the attacks against students and to support the efforts by residents of Columbia Point to defend themselves against racist harassment.

Two weeks later, following the attack on André Jean-Louis, an Ad Hoc Committee for Human Rights was established on the U. Mass. campus, initiated by the Black student organization, the Puerto Rican Student Union, the Asian American Society, and the Young Socialist Alliance. The committee sponsored a teach-in on the situation in Boston on October 17 that was attended by 400 students.

Beginning in mid-October a group of twenty-eight religious organizations banded together to hold a daily silent vigil in City Hall Plaza, distributing thousands of leaflets to passersby urging "peaceful implementation" of the desegregation order.

On October 13 a march and rally were held, sponsored by the legislative Black Caucus. Nearly 1,500 people turned out for what was the first city-wide protest demonstration organized by leaders of the Black community.

Speakers that day included Thomas Atkins of the NAACP, members of the Black Caucus, and students.

But it was clear that what was needed was an even bigger response. The temporizing of the liberals had had the effect of spurring the racists on. They were feeling cocky and confident.

At a Veterans Day rally of 8,000 in

South Boston, several of the speakers predicted that Boston would be the first city in the country to overturn a federal court order to desegregate.

Beginning three weeks before the November elections, ROAR decided to launch a major campaign to defeat referendum Question 7, a proposal supported by the Black community that would have abolished the existing school committee.

While the proponents of Question 7 insisted that it had "nothing to do with busing," the racists knew better. The five-member, all-white, all-Democratic school committee had served the segregationist cause admirably for many years, and the racists were not about to give that power up. ROAR mobilized to distribute tens of thousands of leaflets, buttons, and bumper stickers urging a "No" vote. In the end, Question 7 was defeated by a margin of 2 to 1.

Something had to be done to bring the racists up short. An editorial titled "Boston racists must be answered" was published in the November 1 issue of the *Militant*, the one national newspaper that campaigned week after week for an appropriate response to the racists. It pointed to the high stakes involved in the struggle:

"If the racists succeed in overturning the desegregation plan in Boston, they will push to deny the right of Blacks to attend desegregated schools elsewhere in the country. And they won't stop there. They will be emboldened to attack many of the other gains won by the Black liberation struggle in the past 20 years.

"A victory for the racist mobs in Boston would also give the capitalist government an excuse to retreat on enforcing other laws against discrimi-



Boston racists' message to Black children

nation, and would encourage it to deny further concessions to Blacks.

"If the racists succeed in maintaining a system of outright segregation by mob violence, it will strengthen every reactionary tendency in the U.S. and spur assaults not only against Blacks, but also against Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, the labor movement, and women's rights.

"What is urgently needed is an all-out campaign to defeat this racist offensive."

It was to be some weeks more before such a campaign actually began. On November 14, state senator-elect William Owens announced the call for a national Freedom March for Human Dignity, set for December 14.

"Our voices must be heard . . .," declared Owens. "No to institutionalized racism, no to racist mob violence, no to racism in education, no to the Boston School Committee."

An "emergency committee" was set up to direct the work of organizing the march. While this body was not especially broad or inclusive, the objective need for the action was enough to attract wide support.

Students at Boston University met and formed a BU Committee for the National Freedom March. Later in the week, Ray Sherbill, chairperson of the committee and President of the Boston University Student Union, hosted another meeting at BU, inviting campus representatives from throughout the Boston area to discuss coordinated student activities to build the Freedom March.

This meeting, involving students from eighteen different colleges and universities, decided to launch the Student Committee for the December 14 March Against Racism. An appeal was issued to students across the country to support a national teach-in on the evening of December 13 and to build a massive student contingent for the march.

"The civil rights movement that defeated Jim Crow in the South was aided by students all over the United States," the appeal began. "The student movement should rekindle its support for the struggle for equal rights for Black people. The racist offensive is a challenge to us."

On November 30, a demonstration in support of "quality integrated education" was held, bringing out more than 2,500 people for a march from the Boston Common to Government Center. Organized by the Committee for Quality Integrated Education, it was backed by a broad array of religious figures, members of the NAACP, and several Black political figures.

Thomas Atkins introduced the featured speaker, Coretta King, who told the cheering crowd, "Your struggle is just beginning."

Indeed it was. On December 11, another attack on Black students occurred that brought before national television audiences the spectacle of racist terror on the rampage in Boston.

For weeks, Black students had been noticing what appeared to be a well-organized campaign to create chaos in the schools. White students walked out of classes on a moment's notice to join a crowd of parents outside. Threats and provocations directed at Blacks increased, with minor scuffles escalating into all-out brawls.

On the morning of December 11 a white student was stabbed, reportedly by a Black, at South Boston High School. White students were sent home, but they joined a crowd of parents that was beginning to form in front of the school. Buses were called to take the Black students back to Roxbury. But as they roared their way up the hill to the school, a gang of 300 whites formed a human barricade, physically stopping the buses. The Black students were

trapped inside the school.

Jon Hillson, a reporter for the *Militant*, filed this on-the-scene report: "The mob of racists swelled to 600. They jammed up against the iron gate in front of the school, shook their fists up at the windows, and yelled to the Blacks inside, 'We're going to kill you!' Chants of 'Here we go, Southie' were mixed with cries of 'Let's lynch them!' which were met with cheers from the mob."

For three hours the Black students remained inside. Finally, with the aid of decoy buses to distract the mob, they were able to escape through a back entrance.

On December 13 Maceo Dixon, an organizer for the student committee, spoke about this attack before the 1,100 people gathered at Harvard University for the National Teach-in Against Racism.

"This mob was being whipped into a racist frenzy," he stated. "They wanted blood."

"This violence will continue," Dixon stated, "until we counter the racist movement of mobs with our own movement of students and others struggling to keep the buses rolling, to open up the schools, and to defend those Black youth. . . ."

"The racists are organized. We have to out-organize and out-mobilize them. And we can do it. Because we have more people on our side."

Among the other speakers at the teach-in that night were Dr. Ralph Abernathy of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference; Jonathan Kozol, author of the book *Death At An Early Age*; Julian Bond, a founder of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee and now a Georgia state senator; and Reverend Vernon Carter, a longtime activist in the fight for school desegregation in Boston.

"Many people," said Carter, "say that the days of marches are over. . . . I say to you—we must march again. We must never cease marching."

A high point of the rally was the talk by Black high school student Richard Wallace. "I don't like South Boston High. . . . But we have the right to go to any school in Boston!" he stated, to long applause and a standing ovation.

On December 14 opponents of racism did march again. And for the first time in many years they out-organized and out-mobilized the racists.

Antibusing radio announcer Avi Nelson had announced on November 24 that the racists would hold a counter-demonstration to the Freedom March on December 15. "We'll get ten times as many people," boasted Nelson then. But as it turned out, the racists would muster less than half the number of people brought out by the supporters of desegregation.

On December 14, 12,000 people marched through an icy rain to give the segregationists their long-overdue answer: "The racists don't own the streets of Boston. Keep the buses rolling!"

The December 14 march was the first major setback for the racists since the Garry decision.

With the probusing forces on the move, divisions began to break out within the ROAR leadership over how to respond. Some, like Avi Nelson, were in favor of organizing counterdemonstrations. Others, including the majority of the ROAR executive board, argued against that tactic for fear of being outnumbered or of not being able to control some of their more frenzied followers.

But the teach-in and Freedom March also had an impact on the overall strategy of the segregationists. From the very outset, ROAR's appeal had been based on lies and deception. They covered up their real aims and intentions with code words such as "quality education" and "neighborhood

schools." The teach-in, especially, had gone a long way in exposing the truth about what the racists stood for, helping to isolate them politically.

ROAR began to think twice about its capacity to bring a halt to the desegregation process through a head-to-head confrontation in the street.

At the same time, racist violence continued. On January 23 Kim O'Brien, a white school bus driver, was beaten up by South Boston track team members as a "nigger lover." The same month, a Black man was pushed by whites in front of an oncoming subway at Andrew Square in South Boston. In April ROAR sent disrupters to a women's rally in support of the Equal Rights Amendment and successfully broke it up. Violence and provocations by white students continued inside the schools.

On March 17 and 18 ROAR sponsored a national gathering in Washington, D.C. The main purpose of this junket was to discuss with congressional leaders the prospects of a constitutional amendment to prohibit busing for desegregation.

House majority leader Thomas O'Neill pledged that he would do his best to help bring the amendment to the floor, adding, "If you could get it to the floor, there is no question in my mind that it would pass overwhelmingly."

challenge. On the evening of the December 14 march, 250 students from thirty-seven colleges throughout the East Coast and Midwest met at the University of Massachusetts and issued a call for a National Student Conference Against Racism to be held in mid-February at Boston University.

At the opening rally of that conference, Thomas Atkins issued a new call to action. He declared:

"The Boston NAACP calls upon this conference to join us in organizing against those forces which could drag our country back to 'separate but equal.' We call upon this conference to support us in our effort to commemorate the historic *Brown* decision on May 17. On that date, we will ask that thousands of people from around the country come to Boston to support school desegregation.

"If school desegregation cannot be brought about in Boston, then it won't happen anywhere else in the North. That's why this fight *must* continue. And that's why we must win."

The more than 2,000 conference participants voted overwhelmingly to adopt a "Spring Action Proposal" calling for an all-out drive to build the May 17 march. They furthermore adopted the ambitious perspective of building a nationwide organization of students and youth to wage an ungoing

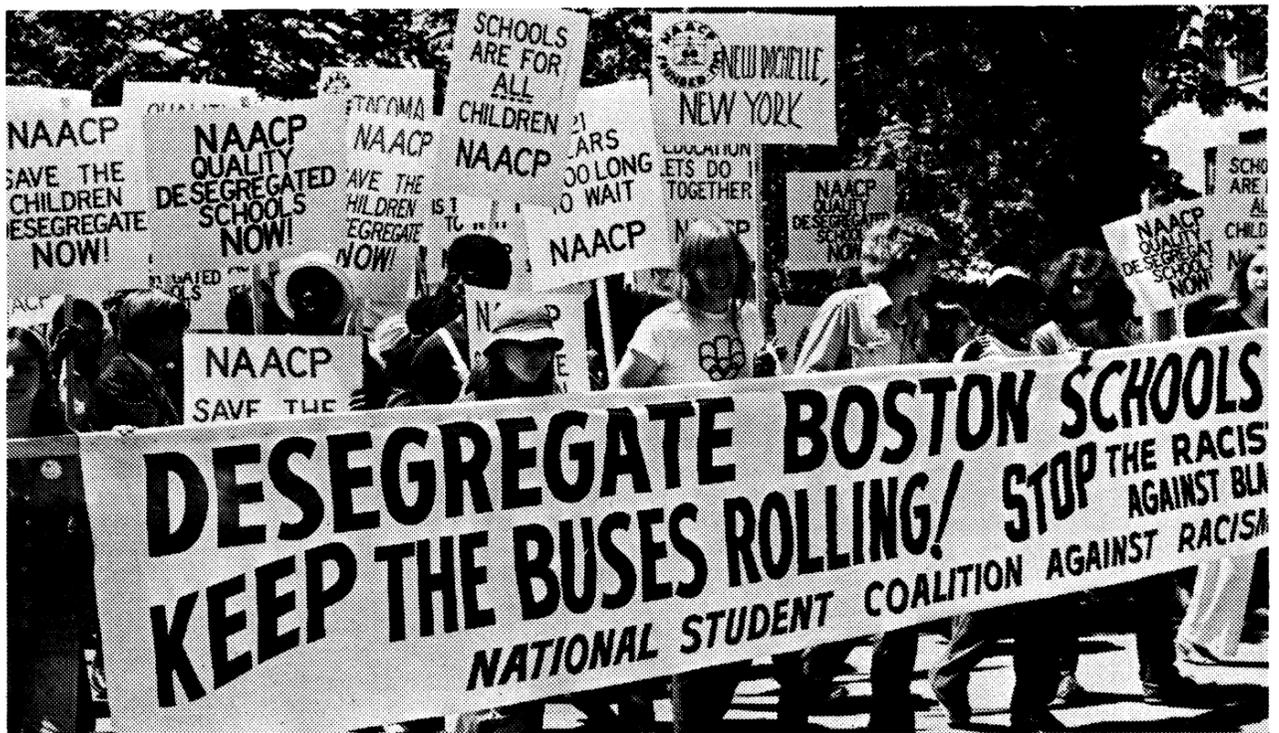
Another significant indication in this poll was the degree of disaffection with the tactics of obstruction practiced by ROAR during the fall. Among those opposed to busing for desegregation, 57 percent said they would not participate in boycotts, 69 percent would not participate in demonstrations, and 90 percent were opposed to the use of force or violence.

On May 10 Garry handed down his final order on the Phase Two desegregation plan scheduled to go into effect in the fall. The plan will increase the number of students bused for desegregation from 17,000 to 21,000. According to Atkins, the edict, despite its limitations, "goes far toward eliminating the vestiges of segregation and discrimination which have afflicted Boston schools."

East Boston, however, will be exempted from desegregation. This is the area where antibusing leaders have threatened to blow up the tunnels leading into the neighborhood if forced to desegregate. The schools there will remain 85 percent white.

In spite of this concession, the racists were unanimous in their opposition to the Phase Two plan.

"It will trigger rising tensions and chaos and disorder in the schools,"



Boston, May 17. 'The movement to turn back the racist drive had taken a big step forward.'

Cindy Jaquith

A recent exposé in the Boston weekly the *Real Paper* revealed that last November Mayor White held a secret meeting with the executive board of ROAR at which he pledged to provide city funds to the Home and School Association for their appeal of the Garry decision.

Later White began discussing the possibility of providing city funds to support alternative private schools for white students who chose to boycott the public schools. NAACP leader Thomas Atkins labeled this a scheme to establish "segregationist academies."

In January of this year the U.S. Civil Rights Commission issued a statement on the desegregation fight in Boston, saying, "Some action is needed to strengthen the vacillating public officials, to move them to take affirmative action, and to neutralize those openly opposed."

But experience had demonstrated all too clearly that the only kind of action that could "strengthen" those who were in collusion with the racists, and the only kind of action that could "neutralize" the terrorist mobs, was the action of thousands of people in the streets, standing up in force to say, "Keep the buses rolling!"

Fresh from the first countermobilization against the racists, the prodesegregation forces were eager to take up the

struggle against school segregation and all other forms of racism. The conference founded the National Student Coalition Against Racism.

The building of the May 17 march was a truly national effort, involving a wide range of supporters on campuses and in cities across the country.

The events in Boston, and the movement that had erupted from it, were an inspiration to many people. It set into motion important struggles in other cities—not only in defense of the Black community in Boston, but also in opposition to other racist attacks: cutbacks in education and other social services, unemployment, retreats on affirmative-action programs, deportations of undocumented immigrant workers, and others.

Boston provided an example—an example of how to fight back.

A poll taken by the *Boston Globe* at the end of April pointed to the effect this movement was beginning to have on the thinking of large numbers of people in Boston.

According to the poll, 65 percent of all Blacks in Boston support busing of elementary students for the purpose of desegregation. Seventy-five percent support busing of high school students. These figures compare strikingly with the 57 percent who supported busing in the spring of 1974.

declared racist leader Louise Day Hicks, and will be "followed by a massive white exodus from Boston."

Two days after Garry's order the racists were dealt another major blow when the U.S. Supreme Court decided not to hear the appeal of the Garry decision filed by the Boston School Committee and Mayor White.

On May 17, 15,000 people turned out on the Boston Common to deliver an unmistakable message: "Twenty-one years is too long," the banners read, referring to the 1954 Supreme Court decision outlawing school segregation.

The demonstration capped months of organizing and education by the NAACP and the National Student Coalition Against Racism. The movement to turn back the racist drive had taken a big step forward.

After the demonstration, NSCAR held a meeting of 450 student activists, who mapped plans for a new, broader campaign in defense of Black students who will be bused in larger numbers in the fall. The students vowed to work with others in the Black community to put the spotlight of national attention on Boston again in the fall and meet the challenge posed by the racists' threats of new violence and intimidation.

Organizers and Fighters of the First American Revolution

By George Novack

April 19 marked the two hundredth anniversary of the battle of Lexington and Concord, the opening of hostilities between the colonists and the crown that had been fermenting since the Stamp Act demonstrations ten years before.

As a youth living in Somerville, situated along the route between Boston and Lexington, I used to watch from my house the yearly retracing of the ride of Paul Revere. He was the Patriot Express who had been dispatched with William Dawes by the Committee of Safety to alert the countryside about the invasion of British troops sent by General Thomas Gage to destroy the arms stored at Concord for use by the Continental militia.

As Revere's enactor galloped by on his horse, waving a cocked hat, he was patriotically cheered on by us children.

In that innocent time I did not know what a subversive person Paul Revere really was. We were not told that he belonged to a conspiratorial organization called the Sons and Daughters of Liberty that had been diligently working for years to defend the rights of the Massachusetts colonists and rouse them to resist Britain's coercive measures.

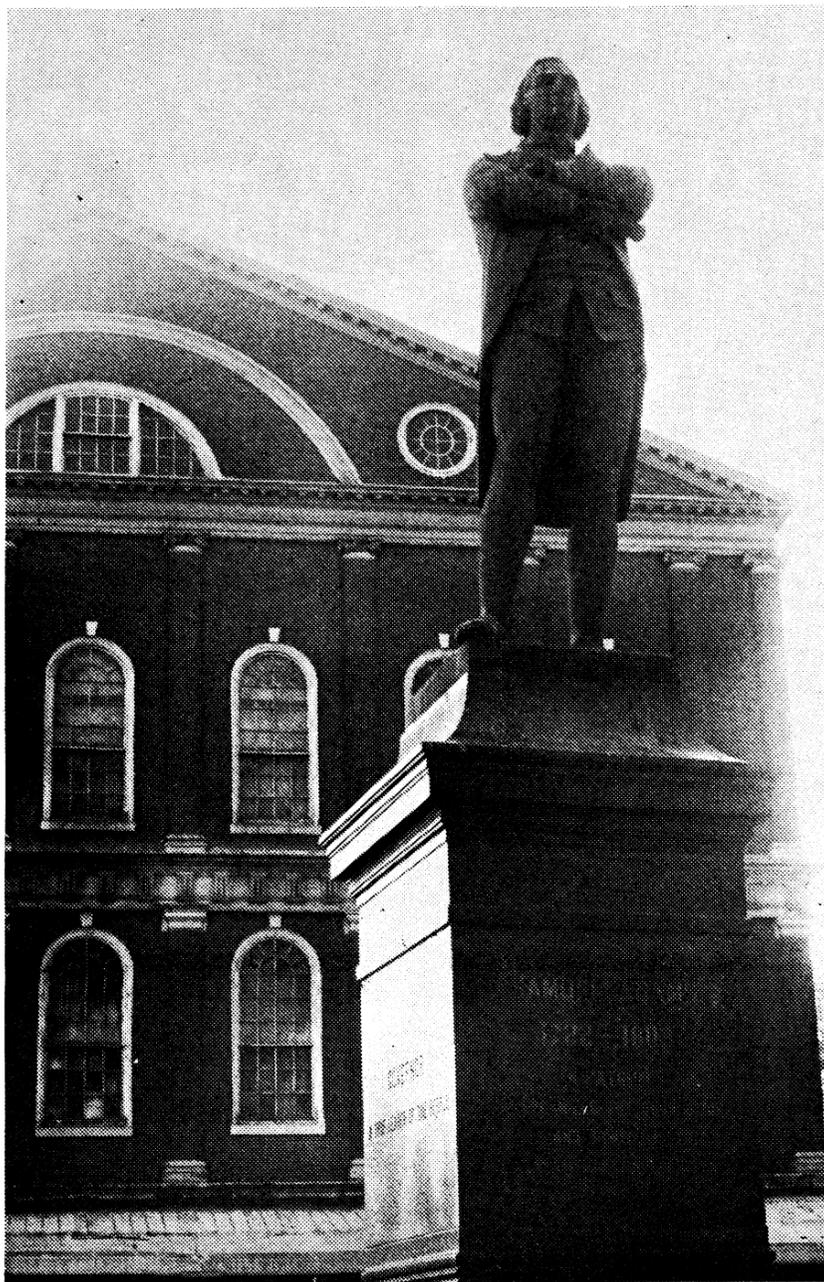
We had been taught that the American Revolution was a glorious event. But it had taken place so long ago that it seemed more like an act of nature than the conscious work of revolutionary-minded individuals. We did not inquire what had driven the people who lived in our neighborhood in the last quarter of the eighteenth century to engage in armed combat against their rulers and how they were brought to that point. My own outlook had to be revolutionized before I understood what the rebels of those days were doing.

The transition from one form of society and political regime to another requires the activity of self-sacrificing, persevering, and gifted men and women who strive to change the world around them under the conditions their century has laid down for them. These pathfinders provide conscious guiding elements in what would otherwise be an unthinking and anarchic process. Their will, courage, initiative, idealism, stamina, and intelligence are indispensable ingredients in the making of a successful challenge to the status quo.

The First American Revolution was made by the common people of the thirteen colonies, whom Tories and moderates alike fearfully derided as "the mobility." Fortunately, they were organized and led by uncommon personalities.

Foremost among them were Sam Adams of Boston, Revere's mentor; and Adams's southern counterpart, Patrick Henry of Virginia. Henry, the lawyer- orator who spoke for the people in the backcountry against the aristocratic tidewater planters, took the lead at two crucial turning points in the prelude to

The Marxist scholar George Novack is an associate editor of the International Socialist Review. He has lectured and written extensively on American history as well as on questions of Marxist philosophy.



Evelyn Clark

Statue of Sam Adams in front of Boston's Faneuil Hall, 'cradle' of the revolution. Inscription reads: 'A patriot. Organized the revolution and signed the Declaration of Independence.'

Lexington and Concord.

In May 1765 he instigated the resolutions adopted by the Virginia House of Burgesses that first denied Britain's right to tax the colonists without their representation. He concluded his speech with this warning: "Caesar . . . had his Brutus—Charles the first, his Cromwell—and George the third—may profit by their example. . . . If this be treason, make the most of it."

Ten years later, on March 23, 1775, in a speech urging the immediate formation of an armed militia, Henry declared: "Give me liberty, or give me death!" He was outlawed by the British governor for that act of defiance.

The way for the interventions of these revolutionaries had been prepared by historical and economic changes of international scope that had profoundly altered the relations between the Americans and Great Britain as well as between the upper and lower classes in the colonies following the French and Indian War. These developments gave such a powerful impetus to their disputes that a social and political upheaval had become more and more urgent.

The armed encounter on April 19, 1775, was not spontaneous. The opposi-

tional forces had been well organized, mobilized, and propagandized and had come under experienced, authoritative, and able direction in the prerevolutionary period. Who organized the rebel movement against Britain? Who inspired and sustained the struggle through its upturns and downturns, gave the signal for armed confrontation, and eventually piloted the revolution to victory?

The revolutionary movement was prepared and led by the Patriot party, which had its roots in the conflicts between the crown officials and the colonists and between the upper and lower classes in the provinces over the preceding decades. Out of these contests democratically inclined (Whig) factions and aristocratic (Tory) factions had been formed in almost every colony. In Massachusetts these were known as the Country and the Court parties.

The democratic groupings were made up of "free-trading" (smuggling) merchants, lawyers, preachers, artisans, shopkeepers, and laborers in the seaport towns, backed up by yeomen and woodsmen in the backcountry. Their claims for greater rights were originally directed against the royal governors and the oligarchies tied up with them rather than against the king. The experiences gained in these encounters

with the royal authorities proved valuable in their subsequent dealings with Parliament and the crown.

As the conflict heated up, the champions of colonial liberties began to develop a keener consciousness of their interests as a people separate from those of the overseas rulers and to feel, think, and act more like independent Americans than like British subjects. These sentiments of distinctive nationality ripened below the surface until they were fully disclosed with the publication of Tom Paine's *Common Sense* and the proclamation of independence in 1776.

The Patriots were not organized along the lines of either the parliamentary or the workers' parties of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. They were loose aggregations of diverse social layers, each with its own grievance, arrayed against British tyranny.

The leadership and ranks of the forces in all bourgeois revolutions have invariably had an extremely heterogeneous character. This was as true of the Patriots as of Cromwell's men and the Jacobins. The Patriot cause brought together a left flank of urban toilers, craftsmen, and tradesmen along with small farmers, hired hands, indentured servants, Blacks, and frontiersmen, ranged alongside the mercantile interests, anti-British planters, lawyers, land speculators, and large property owners.

They encompassed the richest men in the colonies, such as the Boston "merchant prince" John Hancock and the slaveholding landowner of Virginia, George Washington, as well as the poorest, like the indigent West Massachusetts farmer Daniel Shays who became a captain in the Continental army.

In the northern seaports the Patriot party was built on an alliance between the radical merchants and the plebeians whom the wealthy gentry called "the rabble." They in turn sought political collaboration with the settlers in the rural areas and on the frontiers. In the South, which had no urban centers except Charleston, the planters held the same place as the merchants up North.

Their variegated social composition gave rise to different tendencies that at times generated acute tensions and deep cleavages among the Patriots. United by the common objective of throwing off the British yoke, the divergent components of the coalition found themselves at odds to one degree or another in all three stages of the revolution: its preparatory period from 1765 to 1775; the War of Independence from 1776 to 1783, when open civil strife erupted in several places, leading in Georgia to the formation of two separate revolutionary regimes; and, finally, during the domestic struggles between the patricians and plebeians from 1783 to 1789 that were climaxed by the suppression of Shays's Rebellion in 1787, the Constitutional Convention, the foundation of the republic, and the adoption of the Bill of Rights.

The left wing of the Patriots was headed by the Sons and Daughters of Liberty. This was the first popular revolutionary formation in North America—the trans-Atlantic equivalent of the Levellers in England and the

Jacobins in the French Revolution.

Carrying forward the traditions of the earlier democratic clubs, the Sons of Liberty made their debut as a formidable fighting force during the agitation around the Stamp Act in 1765 and spread swiftly through the colonies. They operated as autonomous local and provincial bodies communicating with one another through intercolonial committees of correspondence.

In a letter to the Boston Sons of Liberty written April 2, 1766, the New York leaders tried to remedy their looseness by proposing a congress of the Sons of Liberty "to form a general plan to be pursued by the whole." Although warmly greeted, nothing came of the suggestion because they lacked a leadership of their own.

At first the Liberty Boys functioned as secret societies for fear of retaliation by the authorities. But as they became more influential and awesome, they began to conduct their affairs more publicly, usually under the cover of some safe auspices. But they did not become legalized until the outbreak of the revolt against Britain.

The Sons of Liberty were by and large a plebeian movement. Mechanics, artisans, and day laborers constituted the bulk of the membership. This was visible in the mass protest demonstration against the Stamp Act called by the Liberty Boys of New York on November 1, 1765. There were between 400 and 500 seamen and 300 carpenters, as well as a considerable contingent of country folk in the crowd that forced the local stamp agents to resign.

At the head of these working people were representatives of the educated, prosperous, and professional strata, themselves mostly of lower-class origin. Of eighteen leaders in the New York organization, eleven were merchants and four lawyers.

This hierarchy was equally conspicuous in Boston. There "the lowest classes—servants, negroes, and sailors—were placed under the command of 'a superior set consisting of the Master Masons carpenters of the town'; above them were put the merchants' mob and the Sons of Liberty,—known to the Tories as Adams' 'Mohawks,'—upon whom the more delicate enterprises against Tories and Crown officers devolved; and Mackintosh [Andrew Mackintosh, leader of the South End cudgel boys—GN] was given one hundred and fifty men 'trained as regular as a military Corps' to act as storm troops,"¹ writes John C. Miller.

The Liberty Boys functioned as the shock troops of the rebels both in the towns and in the countryside. In the early part of 1766 the Connecticut association was reported to have 10,000 men under arms and Massachusetts and New Hampshire, 40,000. They vowed not to be enslaved "by any power on earth, without opposing force to force."

The Sons of Liberty undertook bold and aggressive actions to enforce their demands. They did not hesitate to take control of the streets and exercise power in their own right against the constituted authorities. In New York they dared board a British warship, insisted on the surrender of an officer who had uttered derogatory remarks against them, and stood ready to fight the British troops arms in hand.

"They broke out in rioting in Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Charleston; they pillaged and razed the offices of stamp agents; they burned stamps in the streets; they assailed the houses of royal officers; in Boston the residence of the lieutenant governor was pried open, his chambers sacked, and his property pitched out into the streets," wrote Charles and Mary Beard.

"In fact, the agitation, contrary to the intent of the merchants and lawyers, got quite beyond the bounds of law and

order. As Gouverneur Morris remarked, 'the heads of the mobility grow dangerous to the gentry, and how to keep them down is the question.' Indeed, the conduct of the mechanics and laborers was so lawless that it is difficult to paint a picture of the scene in tones subdued enough for modern Sons and Daughters of the Revolution."²

Conservative property owners were extremely disquieted by the militancy, the disregard for law and property rights, and above all by the growing independence displayed by these sons of labor. They sought to bridle the plebeian insurgents, curb their "leveling tendencies," and keep their activity more in line with their own limited class aims. This clash between the right and left wings within the Sons of Liberty first flared up in 1766.

In New York, according to Herbert Morais, "the conservatives were led by John Morin Scott and William Livingston, the radicals by Isaac Sears and John Lamb. The issue involved a question not only of tactics—reliance upon arguments as against the use of direct action—but also of orientation—the introduction of policies designed to advance the class interests of merchants as opposed to the adoption of measures calculated to better the conditions of the rank and file of the people.



New York Sons of Liberty topple statue of King George III

The struggle resulted in a decisive victory for the radicals. From then, the Sons of Liberty became the voice of the artisan democracy."³

After the Stamp Act was repealed in 1766, the Sons of Liberty temporarily receded into the background. Thrown forward by the first wave of resistance, they became isolated with its ebb. But they continued their agitation no matter what the fluctuations of the struggle.

Between 1766 and the broad resurgence of the mass movement in 1773 the principal figures and activists among them kept the sparks of rebellion burning by issuing leaflets, staging occasional demonstrations, and organizing protests around the Liberty Poles they erected and safeguarded. They were feared as a menace by the well-to-do merchants and persecuted by the British government as sowers of sedition.

But they were not intimidated and could not be crushed, thanks to popular sympathy and support. Finally, during the Tea Act agitation at the end of 1773, the Liberty Boys surged forward at the head of the aroused masses, calling large meetings and anti-British demonstrations, organizing tea parties to prevent the landing of dutied tea, and enforcing nonimportation agreements by terrorizing noncomplying merchants and crown officials. Their offensive set off a chain reaction that culminated in

the Declaration of Independence.

In addition, they began to demand democratic reforms for the masses. When in 1774 the New York merchants formed a Committee of Fifty-One "made up of some of the most prudent and considerate persons in New York," the Sons of Liberty organized in opposition a Committee of Mechanics that "claimed equal rights for the classes hitherto excluded from voting." This embryonic plebeian party put up its own candidates for the Continental Congress but later withdrew them.

The Sons of Liberty intervened at every critical juncture to safeguard the revolutionary movement against its enemies and underminers and against unprincipled compromisers and scuttlers. They strove to accentuate its democratic character. When the news about Concord and Lexington came in April 1775, the New York Liberty Boys armed themselves, detained all the vessels in the harbor, and prevented the dispatch of British troops to Boston.

The partisans of the Sons of Liberty formed the backbone of the Minute Men and the Continental army and became the spearhead of the democratizing forces following the War of Independence. Wherever reactionary forces lifted their heads or showed their hands, the Sons of Liberty who re-

mained true to their banner were to be found at their posts. The revolution could not have been sustained and carried through without their audacious activity and sacrifices. These plebeian leaders of the bourgeois-democratic revolution were the precursors of the socialist revolutionaries of today.

Although New York, as the center of communications between the Northeast and South, occupied the key position in the operations of the Sons of Liberty, the Boston Boys were in the forefront of the struggle. Boston was the Paris, the Petrograd of the First American Revolution.

This bustling seaport was the commercial and financial capital of the thirteen colonies. The up-and-coming, daring, and resourceful Boston merchants traded with the whole world. The Whigs among them were ready to take more risks than their colleagues in New York and Philadelphia in political as well as in commercial enterprises. Just as the Puritan merchants of London stood up against King Charles I, so such radical Boston merchants as John Hancock offered staunch opposition to King George III. Great merchants like him employed hundreds of men who followed their lead in politics as well as in business. They could count on direct support from the shoal of small merchants in the city.

Boston was above all the home of what the aristocrats scorned as "the rabble." The Boston mechanics, trades-

men, seamen, shipyard workers, longshoremen, and fishermen were the most democratic-minded, turbulent, and politically conscious people on this side of the Atlantic. They acquired a sense of their own power early on by taking control of Boston through the medium of the town meeting held at Faneuil Hall, "the Cradle of Liberty." These brawny men became expert in battling the colonial aristocracy for a greater share of political power.

Boston was known throughout the colonies, and from one end of the British empire to the other, as a hotbed of rebellion. The Sons of Liberty, cried the Tories, wanted to "Bostonize," that is, revolutionize, the whole continent. Boston, they claimed, wanted to overturn the social and political order and set up a "wild Republic of mad independents."

While the Patriot leaders in Boston primarily depended upon the combativeness of the laboring elements of the town, they found heavy reserves in the farmers of Massachusetts and the rest of New England. Although slower to move than the more volatile city populace, they were stubborn fighters once aroused.

Unlike the southern provinces, New England had no large slave plantations; its yeomen were stout and self-reliant individuals imbued with democratic sentiments. In fact, the upper-class patriots in the middle and southern colonies were very much afraid of the New England militiamen because they spread leveling doctrines by their very attitudes.

These were the class forces available for anti-British action. But they needed an organizer. They found that person in Sam Adams.

Although Washington, Franklin, Jefferson, and even his cousin John Quincy Adams became more celebrated, Sam Adams was the preeminent figure of the First American Revolution. He was so regarded by both sides. Jefferson said he was "truly the *Man of the Revolution*." Lord North called the American patriots "Sam Adams's crew," and General Gage singled him out from the general amnesty he promised the rebels.

Adams was the first long-term professional revolutionary organizer in America; he devoted his entire adult life to working for the cause of freedom from Britain. As the prime mover of the revolution, Adams was the individual most hated, feared, and execrated by the upholders of the established order.

Like other staunch revolutionary leaders, from Cromwell to Lenin, he was dubbed a "dictator." It was said that he worked to see one man at the head of America, Boston at the head of Massachusetts, and himself dictator of Boston. He had in fact come close to realizing these aims by 1775. But if one man was to be supreme in America, the people preferred Adams to the continued rule of King George III. Whatever power he personally exercised was progressive and democratic whereas the continued sway of the crown was tyrannical and ultrareactionary.

Adams was reputed to be "the Greatest Republican [that is, antimonarchist—GN] in America" and "the most extravagant partisan of democracy" in the Continental Congress. The first characterization was accurate; the second a bit extravagant.

As his views and actions demonstrated and his postwar record confirmed, Sam Adams was not a root-and-branch democrat nor a consistent "leveller." He belonged to one of the first families of Massachusetts and was ranked fifth in his class on Harvard College's aristocratic rating scale. His father was a merchant and a leader of the Country party in the fight against the gentry and the squirearchy.

Sam Adams spoke and acted for the most radical section of the Massachu-

setts merchant class that leaned for support upon the smaller shopkeepers, craftsmen, laborers, and farmers in their struggles against England and her servitors. He incarnated the link between them. This bourgeois revolutionist teamed up the diverse rebellious elements among the colonial population and then, placing himself and his associates in the driver's seat, guided them along the road to independence. He directed the revolutionary movement in accord with the needs and interests of the progressive northern bourgeoisie, urging the masses forward or restraining them as it suited the merchants of all grades in their quest for power.

He was a masterful political leader and revolutionary organizer. Proceeding from his local activity to its culmination on a continental scale, his achievements can be summarized in six sentences.

1. He laid out a plan of action in defense of colonial rights that served as a programmatic guide for the most resolute anti-British faction.

2. He welded together a strong democratic revolutionary organization in Boston based upon collaboration among the oppositional merchants, tradesmen, mechanics, and artisans who dominated that key seaport.

3. He forged a firm alliance between this Boston movement and the country people, first in Massachusetts and then throughout New England, leading them in the fight against the gentry and the royal governors and later against the Parliament and king.

4. Through the Committees of Correspondence he succeeded in creating an intercolonial network that knit together all the Patriot forces and assured their unity of action.

5. He was instrumental in promoting the series of Continental Congresses that cemented the ties between the northern merchants and anti-British southern planters and capped the new state power.

6. In the War of Independence he was among the foremost advocates of its vigorous and uncompromising prosecution and thereby helped pull the struggle for liberation through to victory.

No wonder that in London Adams was considered "the first politician in the world" and without a peer in the business of "forwarding a rebellion." He deserved that reputation. Adams was the most astute, ingenious, and implacable revolutionary politician of his time. His organizational methods and activities will repay careful study by all aspiring revolutionists today.

Sam Adams flung himself wholeheartedly into the revolutionary movement and identified himself totally with it. He permitted himself no diversions from that course. This single-mindedness marked him off from most of his contemporaries, who took up or put down the burdens of revolutionary responsibility as the Patriot cause ascended or sagged. He rose above the vicissitudes of the fortunes of the struggle for liberation and measured up to the height of the tasks imposed by history upon his class and generation. He made a profession of politics in the best sense, not to feather his nest or advance his personal ends, but solely to further the aims of the revolution.

He was a brilliant educator of the masses, instructing them in the ideas of the progressive bourgeois school. With tongue and pen he sought to raise their self-respect and to teach them to trust in their own strength and to know their rights, originally as free-born English citizens and later as sons and daughters of revolutionary New England.

He encouraged them to defend their cherished rights against all violators by militant methods and, if necessary, with arms in hand. He roused the



Death of Crispus Attucks while leading demonstration of sailors and porters against British troops. Attucks, an ex-slave, was first martyr in American independence struggle.

people against every injustice on the part of the governing classes, warned them against the dangers threatening their liberties, and mobilized them for resistance on all fronts.

Adams was a tireless propagandist and political journalist, an irreconcilable opponent, and a crafty fighter. He wrote articles expounding oppositional ideas and popularizing Patriot doctrines in half a dozen colonial papers under half a dozen different pen names. As early as 1748, when only twenty-six years old, he and his friends founded a newspaper called the *Independent Advertiser*, which made life unhappy for the gentry, country squires, and colonial governors who were his favorite targets. "Every dip of his pen," moaned Governor Francis Bernard of Massachusetts, "stung like a horned snake."

He concentrated his energies upon organizing the masses for political action oriented toward the fight for power. Needing a mobile and dependable apparatus for that purpose, he created a powerful local machine by uniting the North and South End gangs of workers, which had formerly fought against each other, into a disciplined and responsive battalion to oppose the British authorities.

They were trained and directed by the Boston Caucus Club, which met in the garret of Thomas Dawes's house. The term "caucus" is supposed to come from the "caulkers" among the North End shipyard workers who followed Adams. This Caucus Club, called the "Grand Cork-Ass" by its enemies, formed an alliance with the Merchants' Club and elected their slate of candidates at the Boston town meeting.

The Caucus Club was the parent of the Boston Sons of Liberty, who were recruited largely "from the wharfingers, artisans and shipyard workers of North Boston." Its political committee, known as the Loyal Nine, was not only a deliberative and policy-making body but also an executive arm. Its members took charge of printing and placarding the notices that summoned the Boston citizens to mass meetings, demonstrations, boycott enforcements, teaparties—and ultimately to armed insurrection. Their work was necessarily conspiratorial since it was illegal and highly seditious.

At high points in the unfolding struggle, Sam Adams's Boys tended to slip out from under control and go beyond the limits he and his associates set for them. But the plebeian ranks did

not become an independent power in their own right. They were the main agency set into motion, where needed, against the authorities by the revolutionary bourgeois leaders and did not exceed their designated subordinate role.

After almost twenty years of small-time politicking, Sam Adams was swept toward popularity and power on the wave of radicalism generated by the Stamp Act agitation in 1765. He was elected to the Massachusetts House of Representatives, where he headed the "Faction in perpetual opposition to Government."

This provincial legislature was not only his second platform for agitation after the Boston town meeting, but an important springboard for the capture of power. There he drafted and pushed through the famous resolutions and remonstrances that were circulated throughout the colonies and became not only briefs for the Patriot case but bugle calls to action.

Adams used the parliamentary arena without idolizing it. While he advocated measures of reform, he employed the methods of a revolutionist, combining the parliamentary moves and contests of his faction with the independent action of the masses in order to achieve the maximum striking power.

For example, he immediately threw open the proceedings of the Massachusetts House of Representatives, that hitherto august aristocratic body, to the public. This was done, not only to exert mass pressure upon its conservative wing, but to convert the House into a school of political learning where many could catch the fire and emerge ardent Sons of Liberty. During most crucial disputes Adams's "Mohawks" crowded the galleries where they listened to their leaders and did not hesitate to tell the Tories below what would happen to their persons and property if they failed, to heed the people's demands.

Such scenes at the State House resembled those of the Paris Commune in 1793-1794 and matched the pressures imposed upon the Convention by the Parisian "sans-culottes." Governor Bernard complained, referring to the tactics of the Adams faction: "What with inflammatory speeches within doors, and the parades of the mob without [they] entirely triumphed over the little remains of government."

The Boston Liberty Boys launched

the resistance to the Stamp Act on August 14, 1765, by attacking the stamp agent Andrew Oliver and two weeks later going on to sack the house of his hated brother-in-law Lieutenant Governor Thomas Hutchinson. Bostonians made August 14 a holiday, rightly boasting that the "Resistance of that Day roused the Spirit of America." This intervention of the Boston insurgents did in fact mark the beginning of the popular resistance that culminated in Concord and Lexington a decade later.

The assertion of their independent will abruptly changed the relationship of forces in the city. The Liberty Boys came to "rule the roost" in Boston. The authorities confessed their helplessness. "Aristocrats who had sneered at them a few months before as 'the scum' and 'rabble' were now compelled to bow and scrape before them lest the mob be turned against their fine houses," writes John C. Miller.

"The sheriff's assistants were Sons of Liberty and would not move against their fellow patriots; justices of the peace were 'great favours of them' and paraded beside them through the streets; juries were packed with Liberty Boys; and the Boston selectmen stood in such awe of them that they did not dare to attempt repression. Whoever was so foolhardy as to oppose the Sons of Liberty in Boston in 1765 was sure to feel the smart of 'the Iron Rod of the popular Despotism.'"

At that time Boston was the most democratic city on earth. The Tories called it "an absolute democracy" because the masses, and not simply a few fine gentlemen, had a voice and a vote and actually exercised power.

Although by Massachusetts law no one could vote in town meetings without paying a property tax, this stipulation was not adhered to in Boston where, it was said, "anything with the appearance of a man" was freely admitted. Although not more than 1,500 were eligible as voters, three or four thousand Bostonians were often present at the town meetings in Faneuil Hall, mostly "the lowest mechanics." The men of property shunned these democratic assemblies where Sam Adams and his comrades presented their proposals and passed them.

Crown officials shrieked that the town meetings controlled by the Sons of Liberty took up all kinds of impermissible matters and were "a constant source of sedition." They were in fact revolutionary tribunals.

Adams skillfully used other representative bodies as forums for agitation and as organs of protest. He converted the Massachusetts House into a powerful engine of revolutionary propaganda by passing petitions, resolves, and bills of complaint that he published in the press before they could be received and responded to by the king or Parliament. He was more concerned with educating and informing the masses than in parleying with their masters.

Adams turned all his talents to good use. Fond of singing, "he organized singing societies among Boston mechanics at which, Tories complained, more revolutionaries were produced than songbirds, because Adams presided over the meetings and 'embraced such Opportunities to ye inculcating Sedition, 'til it had ripened into Rebellion.'"

He made popular celebrations out of the anniversaries of the Stamp Act protests, the founding of the Sons of Liberty, and the Boston Massacre of 1770 to keep alive the flame of freedom and the memory of British crimes.

Here is a glimpse of Adams as a street-corner agitator the morning after the "Liberty Riot" of June 10, 1768, when a group of "sturdy boys and negroes" attacked the commissioners of the customs to enforce the nonimportation of British goods. He was seen in the South End of Boston "trembling and in great agitation" while he harangued a crowd of listeners to make a bold assault upon the royal government.

"If you are men," he explained, "behave like men; let us take up arms immediately and be free and seize all the king's officers; we shall have thirty thousand men to join us from the country."

However, the time was not yet ripe for overt insurrection. The colonial merchants were split and neither the New England farmers nor the New York Liberty Boys were ready to march. After preaching armed resistance, Adams sized up the situation and then, like a good general, sounded a retreat. He pretended that he was preparing and talking about war against France, not the mother country.

He took as the next starting point for his activity the struggle against the military occupation of Boston. His "boys" made the stay of the redcoats there extremely miserable.

Adams was among the first to take to the field of action and the last to leave it. After a breach between the conservatives and radicals in the Whig ranks, that party declined in the lull following 1770. That was when Adams showed

his mettle. Almost all the other Patriot leaders lost heart or retired from battle. Hancock flirted with the Tories. Others went over completely. The Whigs seemed "an expiring faction." But Adams remained firm and inflexible. "All of them except Adams abate of their virulence," testified his bitterest foe, Hutchinson.

There is "no Dishonor to be in a minority in the Cause of Liberty and Virtue," wrote Adams. "Where there is a spark of patriotick Fire," he exclaimed, "we will enkindle it."

That fire leaped higher than ever during the resistance to the East India Tea Act beginning in late 1773. The

and widened throughout 1774 and 1775, the leaders of these committees began to set up independent bodies apart from the legal town assemblies and provincial legislatures. These committees of action, organized into local, county, and state conventions and basing themselves upon the insurgent masses, proceeded to take over the public powers from below. They roughly but firmly administered justice, levied taxes, policed the Tories, and raised troops for the war. This new political power was crowned and presided over by the Continental Congresses.

It was historically fitting that the battles at Concord and Lexington in

Sam Adams: 'It is often stated that I am at the head of the revolution, whereas a few of us merely lead the way as the people follow, and we can go no further than we are backed up by them.'

Liberty Boys summoned the people in the country towns to meet and discuss with them the ways and means to repel British tyranny. At these gatherings of Boston mechanics and farmers Adams "never was in greater glory." Tories observed with dismay that many country people were becoming more and more inclined toward vigorous resistance as they rubbed shoulders with the Boston Sons of Liberty in Faneuil Hall. Out of this upsurge came the Boston Tea Party, where Adams's Mohawks served the British overlords a bitter dish of tea made with salt water.

Adams directed the powerfully expanding movement of resistance through the Committees of Correspondence he had initiated by means of a Circular Letter from the Massachusetts House of Representatives. These committees constituted the backbone of the Patriot forces that were soon to seize power.

"At first," write the Beards, "the king's officers looked on the petty committee of correspondence as an absurd instrument of factional strife but they soon discovered in it the menacing force of a new state. One high Tory, Daniel Leonard, called it 'the foulest, subtlest, and most venomous serpent that ever issued from the egg of sedition.'"

The Committees of Correspondence were one of the American innovations in revolution that were copied by the French revolutionists and still later by the first Communist groups in Europe.

As the anti-British struggle deepened

April 1775 that precipitated the showdown ensued from the British attempt to seize the Patriots' military stores and capture their principal leaders, Sam Adams and John Hancock.

When Adams heard "the shot heard round the world" on Lexington Common, commemorated in April of this year, he exclaimed exultantly to Hancock: "Oh, what a glorious morning is this!" He had full right to be joyous. It was birth of the liberating revolt he had done so much to herald and promote.

Boston bred many other characteristic leaders of the Patriot cause because the rebellious tendencies of the time flourished most vigorously in this hot-house. Among the figures from various levels among the townspeople associated with the Sons and Daughters of Liberty was Crispus Attucks, the huge mulatto ex-slave from Framingham, Massachusetts, part Black, part Indian, part white, a veteran street fighter who led the crowd of sailors and porters against the British "lobsterbacks" and fell in the Boston Massacre as the first martyr of the independence movement.

There was Paul Revere, the versatile silversmith, political engraver, and trustworthy artisan ready to fulfill the most dangerous missions; Andrew Mackintosh, the cobbler, who headed the attacks of the Liberty Boys on the stamp agents and Hutchinson's mansion and subsequently led their forays against Tory merchants and British

redcoats; and Mercy Otis Warren, the political polemicist and playwright whose house in Plymouth was an organizing center for the top revolutionaries.

More than any among them, and very likely before anyone else, Sam Adams had been determined to conquer power and concentrate it in revolutionary hands. His relation with his followers exemplified two inseparable aspects of the revolutionary process: the significance of the individual in history-making and the decisive role of the masses. As the chief pilot of the revolutionary vanguard, Adams made the greatest contribution to undermining and overthrowing the royal authority. Yet, skillfully as he steered the Patriot ship toward its destination, the plebeian crew did the work that brought it to port.

The Sons and Daughters of Liberty gave the most forthright expression to the democratic aims and egalitarian aspirations of the populace. They launched the struggle against British despotism in 1765; carried it on their shoulders through the vicissitudes of the next ten years; and drove it to the point of armed uprising in April 1775.

Sam Adams could not have achieved his ends without the support he received from his "Mohawks," the Liberty Boys, and the Minute Men, who responded to his calls for action. He himself was well aware of this dependence upon the moods and moves of the masses. He is reported to have said: "It is often stated that I am at the head of the revolution, whereas a few of us merely lead the way as the people follow, and we can go no further than we are backed up by them; for, if we attempt to advance any further, we make no progress, and may lose our labor in defeat."

This was the tribute he paid to the rank and file in the promotion of the revolutionary cause. From start to finish they were the real heroes of the struggle for freedom. As it has been in the past, so will it be in the future.

References

- Much of the information in this article about the life of Sam Adams is taken from the best available biography about him, written by John C. Miller.
1. John C. Miller. *Sam Adams: Pioneer in Propaganda*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1966, p. 70.
 2. Charles and Mary Beard. *The Rise of American Civilization*. New York: Macmillan, 1934, pp. 212-213.
 3. Herbert M. Morais, "The Sons of Liberty in New York," in R.B. Morris, editor, *The Era of the American Revolution* Gloucester, Mass.: Peter Smith, 1965, pp. 278-279.

LETTERS

Editors: I thought Frank Lovell's article on the job crisis in the May issue was excellent in outlining some concrete actions the union movement can take to meet the offensive of the employers in this depression.

There is just one thing that I wanted to point out, because of the trouble that we have been having here in the Michigan union movement about the role of the courts in the current dispute over binding arbitration. [A discussion is taking place among Michigan teachers over proposed legislation that would force teachers to submit to court-imposed arbitration to settle contract disputes.]

Frank Lovell's article points out how court suits can be an effective means of struggle to protect the jobs of women and workers of oppressed minorities. But

it fails to point out any other way to protect seniority rights and affirmative action.

I don't mean to say that it tells unionists to only depend on the courts, but a worker who reads it might get the impression that court action can stand alone, instead of being only part of a general position of protecting seniority rights and protecting and extending affirmative action.

It is difficult convincing public workers in Michigan that the courts are part of the state and do not stand on the side of the workers. Many see the court as being neutral, and we should use every chance we get to show how the courts, like other institutions of capitalist rule, are not the friends of workers. But of course in the cases where we can gain a favorable decision from them, we should run with it and protect it to the hilt.

S.B.

Detroit, Michigan

Editors: I read with great interest Antonin

Liehm's article on "The Case of Sergei Paradzhanov" in the May *International Socialist Review*. Since news concerning the repression of Soviet gays rarely graces the big-business dailies, I want to bring to your readers' attention some information on this subject.

After taking state power in 1917, the Bolsheviks initiated sweeping measures in all aspects of Russian life—among these the elimination of the tsar's anti-gay laws.

The Bolsheviks' position on homosexuality was pioneered by George Batkis, director of the Moscow Institute of Social Hygiene in the new Soviet government. "Concerning homosexuality, sodomy, and various other forms of sexual gratification," wrote Batkis in his 1925 pamphlet, *The Sexual Revolution in Russia*, "which are set down in European legislation as offenses against public morality—Soviet legislation treats these exactly the same as so-called 'natural' intercourse. All forms of sexual intercourse are private matters."

Shortly thereafter, the new Stalinist bureaucracy made an about-face and retreated to the old tsarist attitude on homosexuality. Needless to say, this position which brands homosexuality as a "product of the decadency of capitalism" has continued to this very day. The recent imprisonment of Sergei Paradzhanov is a concrete example of this bankrupt policy.

In my opinion, the Paradzhanov case clearly underlines the need for forces defending Soviet political prisoners to intensify their efforts—against the persecution of political oppositionists and gay Soviet citizens.

Stuart Russell
Winnipeg, Manitoba

This column is open to all viewpoints on subjects of interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if your name may be used or if you prefer initials instead.

Anecdotes From Life in the USSR

'Samizdat' by Soviet Oppositionists of the 1930s

The following anecdotes and letters are translated by George Saunders from the Russian political magazine *Bulleten Oppozitsii* (Bulletin of the Opposition), number 38-39, February 1934, where they appeared under the title "From the USSR."

The *Bulletin* was, as the *Times Literary Supplement* (London) says, "a publication unique in the history of journalism." Its publisher was Leon Trotsky and its principal editors were Trotsky and his son, Leon Sedov, both of whom were killed by agents of the Soviet secret police. It was the voice of the Russian Left Opposition, the original nucleus of the Fourth International, and had to be smuggled into the Soviet Union and distributed in a clandestine fashion, which was one reason it never had a large circulation.

It began publication in 1929, a few months after Stalin exiled Trotsky to Turkey, and continued to appear, approximately once every two months, until 1941, a year after Trotsky's assassination in Mexico. During that time it was published in three European countries and, after World War II began, in the United States.

Trotsky was the chief writer for the *Bulletin*, and it printed a great many of his pamphlets, articles, and letters on the major political events in all parts of the world during the stormy decade of the 1930s. Some of these were translated in the *Militant* at the time, and all of them are collected in the *Writings of Leon Trotsky* series published by Path-

finder Press.

But in addition to what Trotsky wrote from exile, the *Bulletin* included reports, articles, and letters from Oppositionists and their sympathizers in the Soviet Union, especially in the early 1930s before the increased efficiency of Stalin's repressive apparatus completely cut off the flow of communication between Soviet citizens and the *Bulletin*.

Most of this material has still not been translated into English, although several recent reviewers have called attention to its exceptional value as historical data about conditions in the Soviet Union at that time.

The material translated here was written in the winter of 1933-1934. At that time the Soviet Union was still staggering from the profoundly disruptive effects of Stalin's forced collectivization of agriculture, carried through under the slogan of "liquidation of the kulaks as a class" (*dekulakization*). It was also the final months of the Communist International's disastrous "third period"—almost a year after that ultraleft policy had split and disoriented the German working-class movement enough to let Hitler come to power without a struggle, but before the Comintern had junked the third period and embraced people's frontism.

The *Bulletin* was recently republished in a four-volume, large-format facsimile edition (*Monad Press*, distributed by *Pathfinder Press*, \$160 for the set).

Letter of December 1933

Petya Korpukhin was born and raised in the village of Syelma in the north of Russia. His father, a middle peasant, died a few years before "complete" collectivization. His mother married again; the farmstead increased as a result of the marriage—by two cows and two horses.

Petya's stepfather renovated the house, added on a second story, and rented the lower floor as a post office; in a word, rose from middle peasant to well-to-do.

Petya was sent to school. After four years of study, having shown great ability, he graduated at the top of his class and won a scholarship to a forestry school near Leningrad. At that time his mother died and his stepfather married again. Petya, left an orphan, began his studies at forestry school.

He had not yet completed a year of study when *dekulakization* set in. Petya was one of fifteen students expelled from the school as children of kulaks (Petya on account of his stepfather and stepmother). All fifteen of them were shipped off to the Donbas region and put to work in the worst of the mines.

After three months the whole group managed to escape together and took up a life as vagabonds, wandering through the Ukraine and making their scanty living by stealing—that is, they became *besprizornye* [literally, homeless ones—one of the many gangs of homeless young toughs that roamed the Soviet countryside in the 1920s and 1930s—Translator].

They were soon caught and sent back to the mines. They protested, demanding to be transferred to other work. From the damp mines they were sent to

work in a factory kitchen, where conditions were hardly any better. They lived in unheated barracks. Soon they ran away again and took to drifting all around European Russia. Sometimes they would work at construction sites, but most of the time they lived by stealing. When they worked, they usually were not paid, but only given something to eat; otherwise—the idea was—they'd run off and leave their jobs. This was in 1932.

Near Moscow, an old party member, P., who was retired and had time on his

hands, happened to get to know Petya (it was from him that I heard the whole story). He took an interest in Petya's fate and got him a job stoking the furnace in the building where he, P., lived. Later, Petya was given the job of superintendent in the building. At the time, he was not yet seventeen.

Petya frequently visited P., borrowed books from him, and impressed P. by his brightness and ability to learn. There was only one time when he was unable to restrain himself and swiped somebody's briefcase. He was arrested. Thanks to P.'s intercession, he was set free after promising never to do it again. After that he conducted himself irreproachably. It seemed as though Petya had settled down solidly to a workaday existence.

Then came the internal passport system. Petya went to see P. and said, "I'd better get out of here; they're not going to give me any papers."

"Nonsense," P. answered, "I'll get you a passport."

"No, I know the police better than you; they won't give me one."

It was agreed that Petya would go to Syelma, get his papers there, return, and then P. would try to obtain a passport for him. From his home village Petya sent P. a letter with a photograph and the necessary papers for a passport.

Many months went by after that, with no word from Petya. And now, just a few months ago, one of their mutual acquaintances, who often used to visit P., ran across Petya under the following circumstances.

While walking under a railroad bridge next to one of the suburban Moscow stations, he noticed a train on the tracks, with fifty-four cars jammed full of girls and boys, *besprizornye*. Not only were the cars locked, but the doors and windows were even nailed shut.

It happened that Petya was in the car on the bridge under which P.'s acquaintance was passing. Petya called out to him, asked him for bread, tobacco, newspapers. . . .

It turned out that Petya had been grabbed upon his return to Moscow.

The GPU [Soviet secret police] commandant would not allow any transfers. And so Petya was shipped off to the north with the rest.

A Note on Railroad Cars

Attention has been called to the fact that even in the second five-year plan, the line being followed in railroad car making is still what it was—they are making two classes of passenger cars, those with soft seats and those with hard. But with the coming of the era of liquidation of classes, one would think there would be liquidation of classes in rail travel, too.

From 'A'

The growth of anti-Semitism is undeniable. Its main source is the disproportionate place in the apparatus held by declassed elements from the Jewish petty bourgeoisie. Russian workers may often enough be heard expressing their hatred of Jews who have "wormed their way up in the world." I overheard a conversation between two students, for example. One of them was complaining about the chaos in industry, blaming the regime.

"It's Trotskyism," was the second one's reply to the critic.

"Right. Trotskyism!" agreed the first. Several people near them laughed half-sympathetically.

The Komsomol [Communist youth] cell secretary, a Jew, came up. When he found out what was up, he immediately launched an attack:

"You're the Trotskyist. You don't know what the situation is."

And he went on to explain, "from the scientific point of view," as he put it, the correctness of the general line.

I could see that the people standing around found this character a hateful type, and later on the student "Trotskyist" told me, "Elements like that from among the Jews are hated most of all by the workers. They do more harm than any counterrevolution."

The helpless feeling of hatred at the bureaucracy's arbitrariness and hypocrisy most often follows the familiar path of least resistance and turns into anti-Semitism of a new, Soviet variety.

'Anecdotes off the Street'

Lenin comes back to life and sees that he's inside a massive building with guards on duty.

"I must be in prison; the counterrevolution must have won."

He finds a telephone and asks for Trotsky. No Trotsky. His conviction grows stronger yet that counterrevolution must have won. He calls up Rykov at the Sovnarkom, Zinoviev at the Comintern, and Bukharin at *Pravda*. Same answer.

But perhaps the party at least exists. He calls up the Central Committee Secretariat: "Comrade Stalin?"

"What do you want?"

Lenin explains the situation to him. Stalin listens on one phone, picking up another at the same time and dialing the GPU: "Old man on the line; wants to know too much; take care of him, will you."



Left Oppositionists in exile in Siberia demonstrate on anniversary of Russian revolution, apparently in 1928, carrying banner with portraits of Lenin and Trotsky.

Letter from 'X' dated January 1934

A purge at a major factory. A worker by the name of A. is up. He fought at the front lines in the civil war. Joined the party in 1921. Answers all the questions correctly.

But then they start asking about Comintern matters. "What do you think about Hitler's victory?"

"I think he came to power because there wasn't a united front of the workers."

Universal dismay. "What's that?"

"Well, after all, Hitler is hunting down both Communist and Social Democratic workers. So the Communists and Social Democratic workers ought to get together to defend themselves and fight against Hitler."

"What are you, a Trotskyist?"

The worker gets frightened. "What are you talking about? I never had anything to do with them."

"Confess. You're in contact with Trotskyists," the commission puts the pressure on. The workers all around fall silent. They know that A. isn't in contact with anyone, but simply dares to think for himself once in a while. It ends up with A. being transferred from membership to candidate status.

Another worker, when asked why foreign technicians come to the USSR, answered, "Because we don't know how to build things right yet; we have to learn more."

The commission immediately jumps all over him, accusing him of having no faith that socialism can be built with our own resources, no faith in the powers of the Russian proletariat, etc. He too is transferred to candidate status. Meanwhile, the question of why we do have to engage foreign techni-

cians remains unanswered.

Everywhere there is an unquestionable increase of interest in "Trotskyism," and in L.D. [Lev Davidovich Trotsky] personally: what he is writing, how he assesses the situation, where he is, whether it's true that he is ill, and so forth. "Damn. It would be good to read something by him." Questions like this are numerous, including among the apparatchiks [functionaries].

One bureaucrat-diplomat, having no idea of my views, of course, told me half-complainingly that when he arrived back from an assignment abroad he was literally overwhelmed with such questions, including some from mutual acquaintances of ours—as he told me—responsible staff people, one a ration committee secretary, and even higher. . . .

He told me that when he found himself unable to answer their questions, since he hadn't followed the *Bulletin* closely, they would look at him reproachfully. "What, you've been abroad, and you have nothing of importance that you can tell us?"

I repeat, he had no idea of my political position. Other comrades tell of similar instances. For example, in responsible circles in economic work, things like this are said: "On Germany, the Comintern used to write that the German party was strong and was headed for victory. But T. proved to be right." The comment, "Yes, T. was right after all," is often heard.

Our impression is that there are many people sympathetic to or close to our views.

On the food situation, the only change involves grain: there definitely is bread. Everything else remains unchanged.

The food question is virtually the

center of people's lives. Everything turns on it. The whole family waits in trepidation for the housewife's return from the cooperative store. Today she managed to get some eggs. There'll be an omelet. You won't understand, but that word "omelet" has such a joyful, extraordinary sound to it these days. When you're invited to dinner, you're told, "You must come; this evening we're having an omelet! An O-M-E-L-E-T!!!" All one's efforts, attention, and concern are spent on getting something to eat. With clothing, things stand somewhat better.

A truck with a food delivery suddenly pulls up at the cooperative store. Finally it's unloaded. The news has spread and everyone is rushing to the co-op. "It's not on sale yet."

"Why not?"

"We haven't gotten the prices."

Sometimes you have to wait a day, sometimes two, before the prices come. By that time the perishable foods are no longer fit for use.

Anecdotes of Manuilsky¹

Manuilsky is famous for the way he tells jokes, and he is a master impersonator. He calls up Martynov,² imitating Stalin's voice.

"Stalin here. In the latest issue of *Communist International* there's Trotskyism in the lead editorial, didn't you notice?"

Martynov: "But Comrade Stalin, what could I do? It was written by Comrade Manuilsky."

The imitation Stalin: "So what! You're the editor of *Communist International*!" He bangs down the phone in mock anger.

Later Manuilsky meets Martynov in

the corridor. Martynov tells him that he just got it from Stalin, but good, and all on account of the article by Manuilsky.

Manuilsky: "Really? And what did you say in reply?"

Martynov: "Oh, I defended you."

Manuilsky tells this story everywhere he goes. It really doubles people up.

Manuilsky pulled the same trick on Petrovsky (an American): pretending to be Stalin, he telephones Petrovsky. "I recall a speech of Trotsky's back at the Third Congress of the Comintern; it had Trotskyism in it and showed signs of how he was going to evolve."

"Yes, yes, Comrade Stalin. Certainly. Of course."

"Couldn't you get me some material together on that?" Manuilsky-Stalin gives the order.

A few hours later Manuilsky stops by Petrovsky's office. The latter is poring over the texts of the Third Congress.

"What'ya up to?"

"Well, you know, Stalin called me and said there was Trotskyism in a speech by Trotsky at the Third Congress and told me to get some material together on it right away."

"Oh yeah? And did you find honest-to-goodness Trotskyism in it?"

"Christ knows!"

1. Dmitri Manuilsky was a staunch supporter of Stalin in the fight against the Left Opposition. He served as secretary of the Comintern from 1931 until its dissolution in 1943.

2. Aleksandr Martynov was an extreme right-wing Menshevik before 1917 and opposed the Bolshevik revolution. He joined the Communist party in 1923, becoming a vocal opponent of Trotskyism. He was the chief architect of the "bloc of four classes" theory, forerunner of the Stalinist popular-front policy.

BOOKS

Lenin's Fight Against Stalinism

By V.I. Lenin and Leon Trotsky.
Pathfinder Press, New York, 1975.
160 pp. \$7.00, paper \$2.95.

In January 1924, after more than ten months of total paralysis, V.I. Lenin died. In a ritual more befitting the burial of an ancient Egyptian pharaoh than of a proletarian revolutionist, his body was embalmed and put on display in an airtight mausoleum.

Josef Stalin must have felt relief at the time. During the final months of his political life Lenin had initiated a struggle to remove Stalin from his position of responsibility in the Soviet Communist party and to destroy the bureaucratic clique that Stalin had built up. In carrying out that fight, Lenin sought and obtained a bloc with Leon Trotsky, the other central leader of the Bolshevik revolution.

Not surprisingly, many of Lenin's last letters, which dealt with this fight, were suppressed during Stalin's rule. Some material was published by Trotskyist groups abroad, and some appeared inside the Soviet Union following Khrushchev's famous secret speech denouncing Stalin's crimes. However, the publication of *Lenin's Fight Against Stalinism* marks the first time that the writings of Lenin and Trotsky from their struggle against the first manifestations of Stalinism have been gathered together in a single volume.

An introduction by Russell Block explains the circumstances leading up to the fight and the events that occurred between the eleventh congress of

the Soviet Communist party in the spring of 1922 and the twelfth congress—preceded by Lenin's paralysis—in the spring of 1923. With the exception of one article written by Trotsky in 1932, all the documents in the book are from this period of roughly one year. Additional introductory material explains the circumstances surrounding each of the articles included in the book.

Although all but one of the documents in *Lenin's Fight Against Stalinism* were previously available in English, their republication is of more than academic interest. Together they present thorough documentation of the line of Lenin's political thought during the last year of his activity. They establish beyond a shadow of a doubt the continuity between the views of Lenin and those of the Left Opposition later headed by Trotsky. This is something that Stalin's heirs, whether in Moscow or Peking, have tried to deny.

The Maoists hail Stalin openly. In Mao's essay "On Contradiction," he names Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin as "the great creators and continuers of Marxism."

A pamphlet on *Leninism or Social-Imperialism?* published in Peking in 1970 claims, "After the death of Lenin, Stalin inherited and defended the cause of Leninism in his struggles against domestic and foreign class enemies and against the Right and 'Left' opportunists in the Party."

Although the pro-Moscow Stalinists no longer march in demonstrations with pictures of Stalin, they have retreated from even some of the lukewarm criticisms leveled by Khrushchev. The biographical sketch of Stalin at the end of the 1970 edition of *Lenin's Collected Works* describes this mass murderer as one who "exerted great efforts for the building of socialism, and played a major role in smashing various anti-Party trends, especially Trotskyism and Right opportunism."

How does this evaluation of the role played by Stalin square with the

record? The fact is that Lenin's differences with Stalin on economic policy, on the handling of the Soviet policy on nationalities, and on bureaucratic abuses within the party and state apparatus reached the point where Lenin called for Stalin's removal from his post as general secretary of the party in his famous "testament."

The basic problem that Lenin had to deal with in all of these disputes was that the first workers state was subject to the distorting pressures of a backward, peasant economy and the power of world imperialism. These conditions favored the growth of Stalin's clique. Since this formation was built on the basis of personal associations, mutual support, and material advancement as opposed to the needs and interests of the world working class, it began adapting to the pressures of capitalist society and became a transmission belt by which these pressures were reflected inside the leadership of the Soviet Communist party.

This was seen in the dispute over the monopoly of foreign trade exercised by the Soviet state. A proposal to weaken this monopoly in order to speed up trade with the capitalist world won the support of a majority of the party central committee. Lenin argued that this would result in a flood of cheap industrial products from the more advanced capitalist countries and would destroy the hope of developing Soviet industry.

Lenin charged that Bukharin, one of Stalin's allies, was "acting as an advocate of the profiteer, of the petty bourgeois, and of the upper strata of the peasantry in opposition to the industrial proletariat. . . ."

Although harsh, Lenin's judgment was accurate. The same tendency toward conciliating the upper strata of the peasantry was to eventually lead the Soviet Union to the brink of economic disaster and necessitate the panic-stricken leap into forced collectivization of agriculture at the end of the 1920s.

This conciliatory attitude toward the more privileged elements in Soviet society—a reflection of the tsarist heritage—was not limited to the field of economics. Stalin, as commissar of nationalities, tried to ride roughshod over the rights of the oppressed nationalities, particularly the Georgians. Although Stalin himself was a Georgian, he branded the Georgian Bolsheviks' demand for justice as an example of adaptation to bourgeois nationalism. Lenin took the offensive, accusing Stalin of assimilating the attitude of the tsarist oppressor. Lenin wrote:

"The Georgian . . . who carelessly flings about accusations of 'nationalist-socialism' (whereas he himself is a real and true 'nationalist-socialist,' and even a vulgar Great Russian bully), violates, in substance, the interests of proletarian class solidarity, for nothing holds up the development and strengthening of proletarian class solidarity so much as national injustice. . . ."

Nor was it accidental that the Stalin clique's attempt to accommodate the capitalist elements within the Soviet Union eventually led to an extension of that policy to the international arena. That was the meaning of the theory that socialism could be built in a single backward country, as opposed to the need for the spread of the revolution to the advanced capitalist countries.

The same process by which the Stalin clique unconsciously adapted to alien class influences took place in the Communist party as a whole, speeding the growth of bureaucracy during the early 1920s. Lenin described this process in a general way in his report to the eleventh party congress.

Discussing the position of the Communist party after its victory over the Russian capitalist class, Lenin said, "Sometimes one nation conquers another. . . . This is simple and intelligible to all. But what happens to the culture of these nations? Here things are not so simple. If the conquering nation is more cultured than the vanquished nation, the former imposes its culture upon the

latter; but if the opposite is the case, the vanquished nation imposes its culture upon the conqueror. Has not something like this happened in the capital of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic]? Have the 4,700 Communists (nearly a whole army division, and all of them the very best) come under the influence of an alien culture?"

The backwardness and isolation of the Soviet state strengthened and continually reintroduced all of the

bureaucratic habits inherited from tsarism and rampant in even the most advanced capitalist countries. Stalin became the representative of narrow careerism and privilege within the Communist party.

In analyzing Lenin and Trotsky's struggle against this bureaucratic tendency, Block's introduction goes off on one point. He argues that as late as November 1922 Lenin thought "that the bureaucracy existed outside the party in the state apparatus, and that the

bureaucracy threatened to encircle the party and make the party its captive. At this point, Lenin was unable to clearly see the bureaucratism within the party and the role of state planning in overcoming bureaucratism. These two insights were to come from Trotsky."

The difference between Lenin and Trotsky on economic policy was not over the need for state planning, but only over the forms of that planning and the tactical question of how rapidly

and to what extent it should be centralized. To argue from this disagreement that Lenin was unable to see either the role of state planning in developing the economy, or the next step, the role of planning in overcoming bureaucratism based on economic backwardness, is to give Lenin too little credit.

And it was Lenin, not Trotsky, who first identified the bureaucratic danger within the party: the Stalin faction. It was Lenin, not Trotsky, who initiated the fight on the monopoly of foreign trade, which Stalin was prepared to junk; on the nationalities question; and most importantly, on removing Stalin from his post and breaking up the Stalin clique. This was not because Trotsky was unable or unwilling to take such initiatives, as was proved by his past record. It was because Lenin saw the political threat—as opposed to the general economic and cultural problem—first.

On the problem of bureaucracy within the party, Block counterposes the early proposals of Lenin to those of Trotsky. Lenin said, "The key feature is that we have not got the right men in the right places. . . ."

Block writes, "Rather than seeing the problem as one of 'the right people,' Trotsky saw it as a problem connected with the objective state of the economy and its lack of organization."

What Block misses is that Lenin saw the underlying problem as clearly as Trotsky. Within that context, he also saw that the administrative role of individuals and the political climate this created within the party could be decisive. It was exactly this question of the party regime, together with its incorrect response to growing economic difficulties, that was to spur the formation of the Left Opposition in October 1923—a full seven months after Lenin's illness finally silenced him.

David Frankel



Lenin (center) and Trotsky (left) in discussion in 1920. Lenin proposed bloc with Trotsky to fight bureaucratic tendency headed by Stalin.

The World Turned Upside Down: Radical Ideas During the English Revolution

By Christopher Hill. The Viking Press, New York, 1972. 351 pp.

"The most indubitable feature of a revolution," Trotsky wrote in the preface to his *History of the Russian Revolution*, "is the direct interference of the masses in historic events. . . . they break over the barriers excluding them from the political arena, sweep aside their traditional representatives, and create by their own interference the initial groundwork for a new régime."

The English Revolution of 1640-1689 saw this process take place. Hundreds of thousands of artisans, apprentices, and farmers, previously denied even the right to think about the great issues of church and state, found themselves the object of a great "battle for men's minds," as king and Parliament fought for their support in the Civil War. The weight of the masses became decisive on the political scales.

At the same time, the feudal apparatus of repression, carefully built up over centuries, collapsed. Christopher Hill, one of the most capable materialist historians writing today, says in *The World Turned Upside Down*, "For a short time, ordinary people were freer from the authority of church and social superiors than they had ever been before, or were for a long time to be again."

King and Parliament were fighting for control of the state—it is not surprising that many "ordinary people" asked why they should fight to determine which class they should be ruled by. A pamphlet issued by supporters of the plebeian Leveller party in 1648

asked: "Is not all the controversy, whose slaves the poor shall be?"

Taking his title from a popular passage in the Bible, Christopher Hill in this book sets out to examine the ideas of those who rejected the very idea that the poor should be anyone's slaves. These individuals and groups have been denigrated or ignored by most other historians; on these grounds alone Hill's book is especially valuable.

There was, during the English Revolution, a vast outpouring of new ideas and proposals from the centuries-silent masses. The soldiers of Cromwell's army formed committees, much like the soviets of a later revolution. They elected representatives, called agitators, to speak for them. The apprentices of London did likewise.

Extended debates on every possible question of religious and civil policy took place. Thousands of pamphlets were published. The first real newspapers appeared. Religious sects multiplied as people, freed from the restraints of the state-backed church, began to interpret the Bible for themselves.

Truly heretical ideas regarding both church and state made their appearance. On the religious side, the boldest thinkers advanced pantheistic views that came close to materialism. On the political side the Diggers, led by Gerard Winstanley, proposed universal suffrage and communism.

The Diggers have been particularly neglected by historians, who usually present them as merely an amusing sidelight. Hill shows that they were much more than that. They were a countrywide left wing of the Leveller movement, rejecting the purely constitutionalist policies of the Leveller leaders.

In many ways Winstanley was the most advanced political theorist of his day. His demand for a society in which all wealth was held in common, and the

surprisingly profound social analysis upon which he based the demand, were not paralleled until the French Revolution more than a century later.

He was unique in his time in demanding freedom for Ireland. Unlike many much later utopian theorists, he saw the need for a transitional state to "restrict and destroy all who endeavour to keep up or bring in kingly bondage again," and he saw as one of the key functions of that state the creation of a monopoly of foreign trade.

Wars, he said, were the result of private property, and "when once the earth becomes a common treasury again, as it must. . . then this enmity of all lands will cease, and none shall dare to seek dominion over others, neither shall any dare to kill another, nor desire more of the earth than another."

Hill's book covers a great deal of ground, from the role of astrology and alchemy in advancing scientific thought, to the activities of groups such as the Ranters, who advocated free love, drinking, smoking, and blasphemy as means of showing their defiance of authority. It is not a complete history of the radical wing of the English Revolution. But it is an exciting and valuable contribution to the history of the oppressed and their efforts to escape their oppression.

Ian Angus

BOOKS RECEIVED

Accumulation on a World Scale: A Critique of the Theory of Underdevelopment, 2 volumes, by Samir Amin. Monthly Review Press. \$24.50 the set.

Dependence and Transformation: The Economics of the Transition to Socialism by Clive Y. Thomas. Monthly Review Press. \$10.95.

The Debt Trap: The International Monetary Fund and the Third

World by Cheryl Payer. Monthly Review Press. \$11.50; paper \$4.50.

The Education of Black People: Ten Critiques, 1906-1960 by W.E.B. DuBois, edited by Herbert Aptheker. Monthly Review Press. \$3.75.

From the Other Side of the River by K.H. Fan and K.T. Fan. Anchor/Doubleday. Paper \$3.95.

Interdependent Development by Harold Brookfield. University of Pittsburgh Press. \$8.95.

Life in Capitalist America: Private Profit and Social Decay. Edited by Stephanie Coontz and Carl Frank. Pathfinder Press. \$10.00; paper \$2.95.

Marxism and Hegel by Lucio Colletti. Humanities Press. \$15.95.

The Mensheviks: From the Revolution of 1917 to the Second World War. Edited by Leopold H. Haimson, translated by Gertrude Vakar. University of Chicago Press. \$22.50.

Political Power and Social Classes by Nicos Poulantzas. Humanities Press. \$16.50.

Political Undercurrents in Soviet Economic Debates from Bukharin to the Modern Reformers by Moshe Lewin. Princeton University Press. \$16.50.

The Rise and Fall of American Communism by Philip J. Jaffe, introduction by Bertram D. Wolfe. Horizon Press. \$10.00.

A Time for Angels: The Tragicomic History of the League of Nations by Elmer Bendiner. Alfred A. Knopf, Inc. \$12.95.

The United States and Chile: Imperialism and the Overthrow of the Allende Government by James Petras and Morris Morley. Monthly Review Press. \$10.95.

Weathering the Storm by Elizabeth Evans. Charles Scribner's Sons. \$12.50.

Writings of Leon Trotsky [1930]. Edited by George Breitman and Sarah Lovell. Pathfinder Press. \$13; paper \$3.95.



'Feminist' empress my foot!

readers to "demand" that these prisoners be released.

Well, I may be wrong, but I think that China is a big power now, and nobody can tell her what to do anymore, and that "demanding" that these prisoners be freed may be counterproductive. Instead, I offer the following suggestion.

I don't think that Amnesty International will be very effective, but it is certainly worth trying.

Much more effective, I think, is this. At present, there is an era of good feeling between Hanoi and Peking, because of the liberation of South Vietnam.

Now, there are a number of organizations and individuals in this country that have contacts with the top Hanoi leadership. If these people agree to persuade the Hanoi leadership to talk to the Peking leadership to release the Chinese Trotskyists, I think that will be the best way.

J.F.
Columbus, Ohio

Summer break

I have enjoyed helping to circulate the *Militant* with my weekly bundle of fourteen *Militants*. I get satisfaction in knowing that many of the people who get my *Militants* have never seen one before.

However, school is now over and since I did most of my selling there, and since I will be away part of the summer, I will not be able to circulate any more until later.

I hope to be able to get a bundle this fall. In the meantime, keep it good!

J.E.
Landover Hills, Maryland

Gay rights in Canada

I just have one suggestion for the *Militant*. I think that you should have more coverage on the gay liberation movement.

Here in Ontario a campaign is off the ground to reinstate John Damien. He was fired from being the chief racing steward of the Ontario Racing Commission for the sole reason of being a homosexual.

Damien is suing the commission and the provincial ministry of consumer and corporate affairs. The suit charges wrongful dismissal and is seeking damages for "conspiracy to injure" Damien in his trade. The suit also asks the court to rule that Damien's rights are guaranteed by the existing "Human Rights Code."

If this is won it would be effectively providing the first legal basis for gay civil rights in Ontario.

The Coalition for Gay Rights in Ontario is the initiator of the Damien defense committees. For more information write the Committee to Defend John Damien, Post Office Box 117, Station V, Toronto, Ontario, Canada.

Naomi Brooks
Toronto, Ontario

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if your name may be used or if you prefer that your initials be used instead.

"I do not have time to be myself. I have three palaces to look after: the decor, the menus, the entertaining. I personally supervise the children's education. I must accompany the Shah on all occasions in public. It takes so much time; the clothes, the hair, the makeup."

Sounds rough, doesn't it? Well, that's the life of Empress Farah Diba of Iran, the wife of the shah of Iran.

But what's even rougher—at least to swallow—is that Betty Friedan has dubbed Farah Diba the "feminist Empress."

Reporting on her recent trip to Iran at the official invitation of Princess Ashraf (twin sister of the shah), Friedan writes in the June issue of *Ladies' Home Journal* about her encounters with both the empress and the shah of Iran.

Of the empress she writes: "And she spoke of the women's liberation movement as 'we.' When she shook my hand goodbye, I said to her: 'I have never met an Empress before. It is a pleasure to meet an Empress who is also a feminist.'"

Sweet, very sweet. It smacks of poor plebeian Cinderella at the ball, awed by the thought that nobility would actually nod in her direction.

Friedan, it seems, was royally bamboozled.

While the "feminist" empress is moaning about her three palaces, men and women are being sadistically tortured in the shah's prisons.

Does the "we" of women's liberation that the empress speaks of include Vida Hadjebi Tabrizi? Tabrizi, a sociologist, is perhaps the best-known of an estimated 4,000 Iranian women political prisoners. She has been in prison since July 1972, following a secret trial, and has been brutally tortured.

Does her "we" include Simin Salehi, a physician, who died in Evin Prison after undergoing three months of torture? She was eight months pregnant.

Or how about Atefeh Gorgin? Gorgin is the widow of poet Khosrow Golsorkhi, who was executed last year. She also is imprisoned.

Does the empress include in her "we" the mothers forced to watch the torture of their children? Amnesty International reported the case of a "4-year-old child (who) was whipped and cut in the neck with scissors before the eyes of the mother."

Does her "we" include the twelve- and thirteen-year-old women raped by the secret police?

It's not that Friedan never heard of such atrocities. She writes, "Near the end of my stay, I kept my promise to Iranian students in America who wanted me to look into the imprisonment and rumored torture of a young woman sociologist. . . . I could not find out if the sociologist was tortured, but they said she was indeed dedicated to the overthrow of the Shah, as I suspected were a great many of the younger intellectuals I met. . . ."

That's it? That's all? "She was indeed dedicated to the overthrow of the Shah," and that dismisses it?

Finally, Cinderella Friedan met the shah himself, whom she describes as "tall, intense, with an interesting, intelligent face. . . ."

When Friedan asked him about suppression of dissent and political prisoners he answered, "In every single one of those cases, it has been a Communist, bent on my assassination or overthrow." That answer is enough for Friedan.

It's not enough for the victims of Iranian police terror, who probably see the "interesting, intelligent face" of the shah in their nightmares.

It's not enough for the Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran, which has launched a campaign in defense of women political prisoners in Iran.

All feminists should write to CAIFI, 156 Fifth Avenue, Room 600, New York, New York 10010, and become involved in their campaign.

And that includes Friedan. Perhaps some defense work would bring her back to real life. In real life, the empress of Iran is no feminist. She is on the wrong side in the fight for human dignity and liberty. She sides with the shah—the butcher of Iran.

La Lucha Puertorriqueña

José Pérez



Badillo joins divide & rule game

The New York City cutbacks in health, education, and other social services will have their greatest impact on those already at the bottom of the city's social and economic barrel—Puerto Ricans, Blacks, Chinese, and other oppressed minorities. This has elicited anger and protests from the barrios and the ghettos, and even a few strong words from those not usually known for strident denunciations of the injustices of this racist, capitalist system.

Among those who got into the act was Herman Badillo, a member of the U.S. House of Representatives from the Bronx who is also the highest ranking elected Puerto Rican officeholder in the United States.

From all accounts it was a carefully orchestrated show, staged June 4 at public hearings to discuss Mayor Abraham Beame's budget proposals. The Puerto Rican Democrat brought a coterie of supporters who shouted slogans like "The mayor has to go!" at Badillo's fellow Democrat, Beame.

But when Badillo got up to speak, the thrust of his attack was not against Beame, but against the city workers. He called for their wage increases to be limited to 5.5 percent a year.

The editors of the *New York Times* were obviously delighted with the performance, splashing it across four columns of the front page of their June 5 edition. The *Times* has been loudly demanding that Beame "face up to the city unions."

Badillo's presentation was made to order for this antilabor campaign. It was a carefully crafted and vicious attempt to pit the destitute Puerto Rican community against their fellow workers employed by the city.

Despite Badillo's demagogic claims to speak for Puerto Ricans, his position is a great disservice to the people of the barrio.

For one thing, he certainly couldn't have been speaking for the Puerto Ricans who work for this city, who are concentrated in the lowest-paying jobs. A 5.5

percent ceiling on pay hikes would mean a drastic cut in real pay, since prices have been rising at a rate of 10 percent a year.

Moreover, the lowering of municipal employees' wages will be used as a lever to drive down wages in the private sector as well, and to limit increases in the already scandalously inadequate welfare and Social Security payments. It doesn't take a genius to see that while these wage-cut plans will be harmful to the overwhelming majority of people, they are most catastrophic for Puerto Ricans.

Despite the sloganeering of his supporters, Badillo's proposal is basically the same as Beame's. Both want to close the budget gap by taking it out of the hides of working people. Badillo simply suggests the pound of flesh be carved out in a slightly different way.

Badillo is right, of course, when he points out that cutbacks will hurt Puerto Ricans the worst. There will be fewer hospital services, less bilingual education, fewer fire fighters to combat the fires that regularly break out in the tinderbox barrio tenements. But to try to answer the cuts by telling Puerto Ricans to fight the unions rather than city hall is a dead-end trap.

The only way the cuts can be stopped is through united action by the communities and unions demanding *no cutbacks* and *no layoffs*. The June 28 protest in New York is a step toward that kind of action. That is why the front-line fighters in defense of the Puerto Rican community, like the Por los Niños forces in Community School District One, are supporting June 28 instead of Badillo's demagogic scheme.

Badillo, by trying to whip up antiunion sentiment among Puerto Ricans, is just playing his part in an overall division of labor between the different politicians of the Democratic and Republican parties. Their goal is to make sure that no united movement against cutbacks emerges. It's the same old game of divide and rule, except that now brown faces in high places are taking part.



End of housing shortage—The Pentagon plans to house 50 million Americans in abandoned mine shafts in the event of a nuclear holocaust. Space has already been found for 6 million people and Congress has been asked for \$1.3 million to continue the study. It was found, for example, that the abandoned mines in the Pittsburgh area could house the city's entire population.

Run this one up the pole—A Cleveland area resident complained that on Memorial Day he couldn't buy

an American flag anywhere. "The country's falling apart," he said. "The interest is lost. The patriotism isn't there the way it used to be." Or the ingenuity. He could have pinned a dollar bill to a stick.

Safe haven—Jubal Hale, the federal bureaucrat who spent four years listening to Beethoven records on the job, urged Congress to abolish his position. He was employed by the Metal and Nonmetallic Safety Board of Review, set up to hear appeals from mine operators ordered to shut down

for noncompliance with safety regulations. There were no appeals, suggesting, perhaps, that there were no shut-downs.

Pentagon paper—A patent was issued for a paper that is resistant to machine copying. The federal government is expected to be a prime customer.

A small qualification—Reporting on the possibility that a refuse recycling program may be scrapped, an

official of the Princeton, New Jersey, Disposal Service explained, "We are all morally obligated to resource recovery up to whatever point it's economically feasible to do so."

How old does a woman have to be?—Interviewing Kathleen Brown Rice, newly elected member of the Los Angeles school board, *Los Angeles Times* reporter Jack McCurdy commented that at twenty-nine she appears "strikingly mature and sophisticated for her age."

National Picket Line

Frank Lovell



Job action at Garage Five

The following guest column was written by a member of the Teamsters union in New York who has been active in the fight against city layoffs and cutbacks.

NEW YORK, June 24—It is almost six in the morning. In just a few minutes, dozens of garbage trucks are supposed to roll out the exit ramp of Sanitation Department Garage Five on the West Side of Manhattan—out on the day's first round of trying, with too few workers and inadequate equipment, to keep the city from drowning in waste. But no trucks are moving.

A group of young sanitation workers has parked one of the big white garbage-munchers in front of the exit, yanked the keys, and begun an impromptu protest meeting. In a couple of minutes fifty men gather around. Then seventy-five. Still no trucks move.

A few days ago Mayor Beame announced he was ordering trash collection reduced and 791 sanitation workers fired. He said the men would be off the city payroll by June 30. All over the city, residents have been glumly reading notices of how many garbage pickup days have been eliminated in their neighborhoods.

John DeLury, president of the Uniformed Sanitationmen's Association, affiliated with the Team-

sters union, warns there will be 298,000 tons of uncollected garbage on the streets by the end of September. DeLury has filed a suit against the city to stop the layoffs. But the young workers at Garage Five don't seem too confident that court action will save their jobs.

All the men take with some interest leaflets publicizing the June 28 march on city hall against layoffs and cutbacks. They tell the leafleter that 95 out of 185 workers at Garage Five are scheduled to be laid off by the end of the week. Their average age is twenty-four. Most are married and have children to support. Many left better-paying jobs to work for the city, they say, because they thought job security was assured.

Less than a week ago some of these same men told a visitor that nothing could be done about the layoffs.

But today that frustration and demoralization have exploded into outrage and rebellion. "What have we got to lose?" There is angry talk about getting back at their taskmasters for all the speedup and arbitrary discipline they have had to put up with.

High-ranking administrators from the department come out, take names, and threaten the men with suspension if they don't stop the blockade and return to work. For men who will be out of a job in four days, it's not much of a threat. They don't

budge. They are engrossed in a heated discussion of how to stop the layoffs.

A union official tries to persuade them to go back. He urges the men who want to work to go back inside the depot and those who don't want to work to stay outside. Workers respond bitterly that that would divide those facing layoff from those who still have jobs. Then they talk about how all municipal workers are being pitted against each other.

The men challenge the union official about the need for strong action to stop the layoffs. He promises the union will do something in a few days. "In a few days we'll be laid off!" someone yells derisively.

The shouting debate goes on for an hour and a half, while the trucks stay bottled up inside the depot. One group of workers wants to strike immediately even if not all the workers are ready. Another group wants to set a Thursday deadline for union leadership action, with the days till then used to better coordinate for strike action. The majority decides to wait until Thursday and return to work for the time being.

Although some of the men vociferously protest the decision, all return together to the depot for another day of trudging behind the garbage trucks. They figure they can't afford not to stick together.

By Any Means Necessary

Baxter Smith



The 'Black Enterprise' Top 100

That's life in the big city.

New kids on the block always get bullying from the big boys, a lump on the noggin or a puffed-up lip. But these guys! Holy Moses!

"We're the new guys on the block," Black publisher Earl Graves says of Black businesses, most of which aren't big enough to tie their own shoes.

His June *Black Enterprise* published its annual Top 100 Black businesses, and it shows that under the depression the big boys have been kicking the daylight out of the new guys.

"Minority entrepreneurs, who often find it difficult to stay above water even in normal times, were especially hard-pressed," Jacob Wortham, *Black Enterprise* associate editor, wrote in summing up the performance of Black businesses in the past year.

"If the big boys were in trouble, imagine what it was like for us," one Black executive said.

Overall, the Top 100 Black-owned companies recorded an annual sales drop of 9 percent. A year earlier they had experienced a sales increase of 14.4 percent. By comparison, the largest 500 white-owned industrial companies, according to the May

Fortune, recorded a profit increase of 1.8 percent last year.

(In both cases the effects of inflation have been taken into account.)

And that's not all.

Black-owned banks suffered a decline of 10 percent in assets last year. Black-owned savings and loans associations suffered an 8 percent loss in assets last year, and Black-owned life insurance companies suffered a drop of 7 percent in sales last year.

All this is to say that Black capitalism may be alive and well on the twelfth moon of Jupiter, but certainly not in Harlem, Watts, or any place else where Blacks are.

It was the worst year ever for Black businesses, which goes to show that Black businesses are peripheral, not essential, operations in the economy and they can be worked over or squeezed out by the big boys at any time.

The bulk of the Top 100 are in retailing—supermarkets, liquor distributors, auto dealers (the largest group), fast-food franchising, and others.

The top banana again this year—with \$45 million in sales—is Motown Industries, a record company,

whose sales were a whopping one-sixth of those of the five-hundredth company on *Fortune's* list.

Number two is Johnson Publications, which puts out *Ebony* and *Jet*. Number three is Johnson Products, the cosmetics firm that puts out Ultra-Sheen, to keep your natural uptight.

You don't get to any kind of basic industrial manufacturing firm until number twenty-eight on the list, a metal and fabrics outfit that had sales of \$6.5 million in 1974. The Rockefellers probably spend that much for booze each year.

So if you think these Black businesses constitute a Black capitalism that is vital, or in any way necessary to the economy, you try meeting the needs of the country with some soul music, some magazine pin-ups, and some hair grease.

As another indication of the insignificance and shaky nature of Black businesses, the number five company on the Top 100 last year, Stax record company, was one of several firms that didn't even make the list this year.

Imagine if the number five company on the *Fortune* list last year, General Electric, went under like that. Poor Happy Hotpoint would be out of a job.

Camejo, Reid tour Chicago despite threats

By Bruce Bloy

CHICAGO—Stating that he would not be intimidated by threats from right-wing Cuban exiles to disrupt his campaign, Socialist Workers party presidential candidate Peter Camejo launched a two-week tour of the Chicago area on June 19.

Camejo will be joined for part of the tour by his vice-presidential running mate, Willie Mae Reid, who will be making her first visit to Chicago since her campaign against Mayor Richard Daley this past spring.

The threats against Camejo, received on the eve of his arrival, prompted the Illinois Socialist Workers campaign committee to immediately put out a call for campaign supporters and all organizations and individuals who support Camejo's right to speak to be present at all his public meetings.

On March 9, several dozen Cuban exiles physically attacked a University of Chicago meeting sponsored by the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners where Juan Carlos Coral, Argentine socialist leader, was speaking on repression in his country. Two USLA supporters were injured during that confrontation.

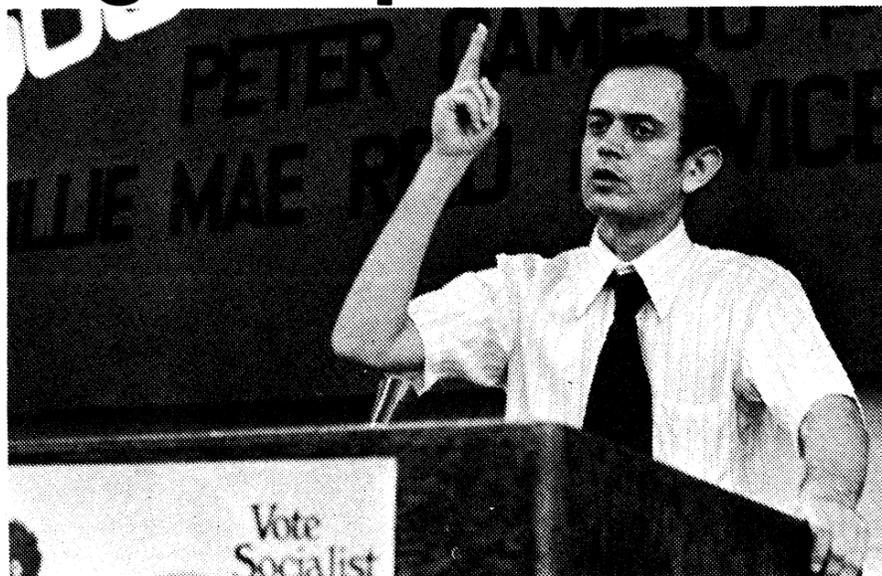
In addition to asking for a united defense of the Camejo meetings, the

campaign committee requested protection from the Chicago Police Department and the U.S. Secret Service. The Chicago police have provided a measure of protection for some of Camejo's meetings.

This is the first time candidates of the Socialist Workers party have been provided police protection. The Secret Service refused protection to the SWP candidates on the grounds that they had no authority to do so until a congressional subcommittee issues them a list of "major" candidates next March.

Camejo and Reid will be in the Chicago area through July 2, speaking on campuses, at plant gates, and on unemployment lines.

During the first two days of his tour, Camejo spoke to a meeting of students at Northeastern University and a meeting of fifty members of the Union of Puerto Rican Students there. He also joined a vigil at Chicago's Federal Building demanding that U.S. Attorney General Edward Levi reopen the Rosenberg case. On June 21 Camejo joined a picket line and rally of 200 called by the United Farm Workers, demanding that the Jewel food chain sell only UFW lettuce and grapes and that they stop selling Gallo wine.



Militant/Charles Ostrofsky

PETER CAMEJO: 'Workers can not place confidence in the Democratic party.'

The highlight of the tour was a campaign meeting on the evening of June 21, attended by 125 people. At the meeting Camejo discussed several struggles that show the depth of the current crisis facing the capitalist rulers, such as the fight against racist attempts to block school busing in Boston, the struggle against cutbacks in social services in New York City, and the struggle by the United Farm Workers to have their union recognized in Texas and California.

These struggles, Camejo said, are examples of an increased willingness on the part of working people to fight against the attempts of the rich to lower their general standard of living to maintain profits.

"One mistake," Camejo said, "that must be explained to workers who are beginning to fight for the first time is not to place confidence in the Democratic party for solutions to their problems. Just at the moment when they become open to listening to someone telling them to stop voting for that capitalist party, we have people on the left, like the Communist party, telling them to keep on voting Democrat."

"One thing the SWP campaign will do is make it absolutely explicit that we are not only opposed to the Democrats and Republicans, but any variant

of procapitalist politics. American workers can never be won to socialism unless they are told the full truth."

Willie Mae Reid, who also spoke at the meeting, commented that the Daley machine has continued to run true to form since the mayoral campaign. She listed the indictment of a Cook County commissioner for taking bribes, the Chicago police scandal, and Daley's attempts to gerrymander the Illinois congressional districts to punish some of those within the Democratic party who had dared to oppose him.

Reid pointed out that the so-called independent wing of the Democratic party was no better, citing the refusal of Gov. Dan Walker and other "independents" in the state legislature to mount a serious campaign for passage of the Equal Rights Amendment. "If women are to have any hope of getting the ERA passed, we are going to have to organize ourselves right now to get the job done."

At the meeting, pledges of more than \$1,500 were made to help get out news of the socialist campaign in Illinois.

People who would like to work on the Camejo-Reid campaign should contact the Illinois campaign headquarters at 428 South Wabash, Fifth Floor, Chicago, Illinois 60605; telephone, (312) 939-0756.

Join the socialist campaign

Here's how you can get involved:

- I want to come to a local campaign meeting to help plan activities.
- I can do volunteer office work.
- I can help distribute campaign literature on Saturdays during the week.
- I speak Spanish and can help translate and/or campaign in Spanish-speaking communities.
- Please send me one copy of the Bill of Rights for Working People free of charge.
- Please send _____ copies of the Bill of Rights. Enclosed is \$_____ (three cents each; two cents each for orders of 1,000 or more).
- Enclosed is my contribution of \$_____. Funds are urgently needed.
- I want to join the Socialist Workers party.

Clip and mail to: Socialist Workers 1976 National Campaign Committee, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.

Name _____
 Address _____
 City _____
 State _____ Zip _____
 Telephone _____
 Occupation _____ Union _____
 Business address _____
 School/Organization _____

Officers of the committee—Chairpersons: Fred Halstead, Ed Heisler, Linda Jenness, Andrew Pulley—Treasurer: Andrea Morell.
 A copy of our report is filed with the Federal Election Commission and is available for purchase from the Federal Election Commission, Washington, D.C.

USLA identifies thugs

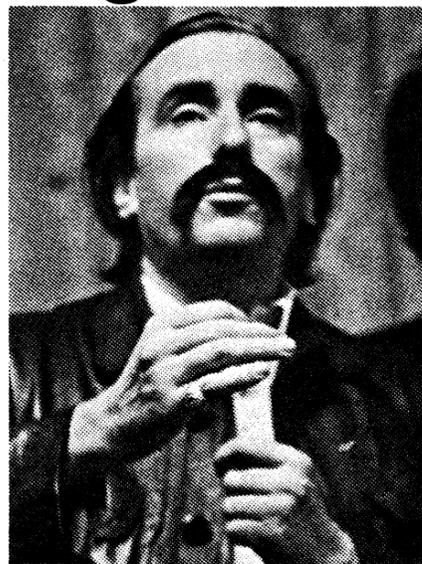
Charges filed against disrupters of Coral forum

CHICAGO—Charges against two Cuban exiles were filed in Cook County Court June 17 by two members of the United States Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA). Battery charges were filed against José Lamas and Rafael Orizondo.

In addition, the state's attorney's office filed disorderly conduct and mob-action charges against these two and three other Cuban exiles: Juan Taneque, Jessie Diequez, and José Asencio. A \$1,000 bond has been set for each individual.

These misdemeanor charges are the result of a three-month investigation following the disruption of a speech by Argentine socialist Juan Carlos Coral at the University of Chicago March 9. USLA was the coordinator of a national speaking tour by Coral.

USLA had cosponsored the March 9 meeting with the University of Chicago student government and a committee for Latin American studies. Coral was speaking on "Right-wing Terror in



Militant/Howard Petrick

March 9 meeting for Argentine socialist Juan Carlos Coral was disrupted by right-wing Cuban exiles. Five of those responsible have been identified through independent investigation.

Argentina."

Coral was able to complete his talk despite increasing heckling by some forty Cuban exiles in the audience. However, before the discussion could begin, a large group of these Cubans rushed the stage area, threatening Coral. USLA ushers and university students were able to form a human barrier between Coral and the attackers.

It was during this effort to protect Coral that the two USLA members were attacked. Andrew Pulley received facial injuries requiring twelve stitches. Cathleen Gutekanst also required medical attention for injuries received. It was Pulley and Gutekanst who filed the charges against the attackers.

USLA had joined with locally prominent defenders of civil liberties such as Marge Breton, Prof. Preston Browning, Rev. Gerard Grant, Anita Kipnis, Ida Terkel, Prof. Carlos Torre, and Dr. Quentin Young in urging the state's attorney's office to file stronger, felony

charges.

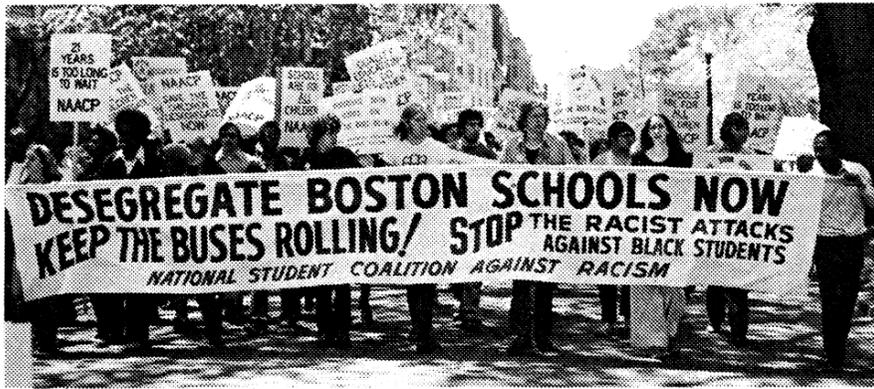
The fact that charges were filed at all was due to the efforts of the USLA and the University of Chicago legal department in independently investigating and obtaining the identities of the Cubans who were part of the group that attacked the Coral meeting.

Three of those charged play leadership roles in the "February 24th Committee for Cuban Political Prisoners." This group has pointed to the March 9 attack as an example of its goals and future activities. This committee includes the "Authentic Revolutionary Party of Cuba" and "Alpha 66" (a group founded by veterans of the Bay of Pigs invasion of 1961).

In order to deter future attacks of the kind that occurred March 9, and to affirm that the right of free speech will be protected for all, USLA plans to aid the prosecution of the Cuban exiles and continue its efforts in defense of victims of political repression in Latin America.

Ten questions for the Communist party

The following ten questions, prepared by Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid, the Socialist Workers party 1976 candidates for president and vice-president, are directed at the Communist party. They will be circulated at the June 29 CP-sponsored "People's Bicentennial Festival" being held in conjunction with the CP convention in Chicago.



National Student Coalition Against Racism banner at May 17 demonstration in Boston. Despite role played by NSCAR in organizing demonstration—later commended by NAACP—Communist party calls this organization 'racist.'

1. The Socialist Workers party and the Young Socialist Alliance have launched a lawsuit against the government to help halt repression of dissidents by the FBI, CIA, and other agencies. The Political Rights Defense Fund is organizing support for the suit and has enlisted the sponsorship of a broad spectrum of groups and individuals who want to see these unconstitutional practices stopped.

Among the suit's sponsors are numerous trade unions, Anne Braden, Kathy Kelly, Julian Bond, Daniel Ellsberg, and the National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression. So far the Communist party hasn't endorsed this important civil liberties effort. Will you join now in supporting this action in defense of democratic rights?

2. The struggle to desegregate the Boston schools is a national testing ground between racist and antiracist forces. So far the CP has virtually stood aside from this fight. The Young Workers Liberation League has refused to actively participate under cover of falsely attacking the National Student Coalition Against Racism as "racist."

NSCAR is the organization that took the lead in mobilizing participation by young people in the May 17 antiracist demonstration of 15,000 in Boston called by the NAACP. NSCAR's efforts were later commended by the NAACP. The CP did virtually nothing to help build this important national action—the largest yet against the racist offensive in Boston. Will you change your position and unite with the NAACP, NSCAR, SWP, YSA, and all other antiracist forces in a common effort to win this crucial battle?

3. Why does the Communist party

refuse to call for adoption of the Equal Rights Amendment?

4. The CP sometimes refers to the Democratic and Republican parties as instruments of the ruling capitalist class. Why, then, do you consistently support and urge a vote for many national and local Democratic party candidates?

5. Last April the voters of Chicago had a choice for mayor between Democrat "Boss" Richard Daley; Republican John Hoellen; and Black socialist Willie Mae Reid, the first working-class candidate on the Chicago ballot in decades. Why did the CP refuse to support Reid?

6. On June 15, 1972, the Committee for the Defense of Soviet Political Prisoners, an organization of students in Canada and the United States who are primarily of Ukrainian descent, appealed to Angela Davis to exercise her authority as a prominent Black leader in the CP to focus attention on the plight of 150 Ukrainians, fighters for socialist democracy and national rights, arrested in the Soviet Ukraine.

Angela Davis ignored the appeal and to this day has never spoken out in defense of the Ukrainians or other political prisoners languishing in Soviet prisons and asylums. In fact, she visited the Soviet Union in 1972 shortly after her court victory and hailed the Kremlin's policy on the national question. Why do you support

these injustices and participate in their attempted cover-up?

7. Why don't you tell working people the full truth about the Communist party's political record? This would include your energetic support to the no-strike pledge and other antilabor policies during World War II and advocacy that the pledge be continued after the war; your support to the herding of Japanese-Americans into concentration camps as part of the "war effort"; your support to the dropping of atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki; and your characterization of Malcolm X as an "ultrareactionary" and an enemy of Black people. What is your attitude now to these policies, which were public knowledge at the time and are documented in your own press? Were they right? Were they mistakes? How do you explain them?

8. Why do you support the Portuguese government, which is capitalist and suppresses democracy? Its record includes strikebreaking, such as that against the postal workers in 1974; the suppression of an opposition working-class newspaper, *República*; and the jailing of hundreds of members of a working-class political party, the Movement to Reorganize the Proletarian Party.

9. The Portuguese government maintains more than 24,000 troops in Angola. Why don't you—and your

sister party, the Portuguese Communist party—call for the immediate withdrawal of all Portuguese troops from Angola? How will support to this imperialist government and its reactionary policies advance the Portuguese socialist revolution?

10. The Socialist Workers party proposes a Bill of Rights for Working People to protect us from the ravages of this system. These rights include the right to a job; right to an adequate income, protected against inflation; right to free education; right to free medical care; right to a secure retirement; right of oppressed national minorities to control their own affairs; right to know the truth about and decide the political policies that affect our lives; right to know the truth about and decide economic and social policies.

The SWP believes these rights can be attained only by the independent, massive struggles of working people and their allies and secured through a government of the majority, a workers government.

We are circulating the Bill of Rights for Working People widely—already more than 300,000 copies have been distributed across the country—and soliciting responses to it. What is your opinion of this proposal?

These are all important questions for working people in this country, and we challenge you to honestly and openly state your position on them.



ANGELA DAVIS: Will she speak out in defense of democratic rights in Soviet Union?

Chi. bombs give cops pretext to continue spying

By Bruce Bloy

CHICAGO—Two June 14 bombings directed at banks here are being used by Mayor Richard Daley, the police department, and the capitalist media as a pretext to launch a campaign to justify illegal police spying.

A communiqué signed by the Fuerzas Armadas de Liberación Nacional Puertorriqueña (FALN—Puerto Rican Armed Forces of National Liberation) claimed credit for the attack. The blasts went off in the downtown Loop area between midnight and 1:00 a.m., only a few hours before a scheduled Puerto Rican Day parade. Damage was light and no one was injured.

Up until the explosions, police and city officials had been on the defensive as each day brought forth new revelations of illegal surveillance and harassment of journalists, civic and community organizations, antimachine Democrats, Black groups, and socialists. Tactics used by various police agencies included wiretapping, burglaries, infiltration, and the use of right-wing terror squads.

Now, Daley has seized the bombings as an opportunity to counterattack, saying, "Police surveillance of groups like this is necessary to prevent further incidents." Edward Buckney, assistant deputy superintendent of police,

claimed the bombings were further evidence that the police needed to maintain a unit of undercover officers to infiltrate "subversive" organizations.

"It did not happen in Chicago before," Buckney said, "when we had an effective intelligence operation. In the past, we could prevent these things and head them off when they happened in other cities."

These attempts to whip up hysteria were echoed in the media. In its lead editorial of June 18, the *Chicago Daily News* stated: "Its mission [police surveillance] certainly includes keeping tabs on such groups as the FALN, whose doctrine and whose record both warn of violence and criminality. No one would properly object to surveillance of such groups, presuming the surveillance is carried out under the safeguards required by law."

The June 17 *Chicago Tribune* carried a similar editorial.

The thrust of this propaganda campaign is to win acceptance for spying and harassment against those who put forward alternatives to the present system, who are struggling to win and maintain a decent standard of living, or who oppose the murderous military policies of Washington. But it is not legitimate to spy on "loyal concerned

citizens and businessmen" who are taking a "healthy concern for their communities."

The Chicago police have tried to claim that the FALN is a terrorist arm of the Puerto Rican Socialist party.

Jesús López, secretary of organization of the U.S. branch of the PSP, condemned Buckney and Daley at a June 17 news conference "for their ridiculous attempts to justify the infiltration they have directed against civic, community, progressive, and revolutionary organizations." The PSP denies any links whatsoever with the FALN, and has charged that the U.S. government is trying to "set the stage in Chicago for the fabrication of charges against members of the PSP."

The PSP has consistently denied any association with the FALN since it first emerged last October, and on several occasions has denounced FALN terrorist actions as harmful to the struggle for independence.

It has been reported that the Chicago police had infiltrated the PSP, but supposedly removed their informant when State's Attorney Bernard Carey began his investigation into police spying. However, Carey's office has stated that the police were told that the state's attorney's office did not oppose such "legitimate" infiltration related to

"criminal investigations" and that the work of police agents continues.

The attempt to pin the "terrorist" tag on the PSP is more than a local tactic of Daley's cops. On June 2, U.S. Rep. Larry McDonald (R-Ga.) inserted a three-page statement in the *Congressional Record* claiming the PSP is an "organization with a proven record of revolutionary violence." McDonald, a member of the John Birch Society, is a regular conduit for publication of this kind of FBI concoction.

The PSP was also a target in one of the FBI's Cointelpro ("Counterintelligence Program") operations. Although the FBI no longer uses that name for its "disruption programs," the PSP continues to suffer constant harassment from that quarter.

The PSP is not the only left group that has been "linked" to the FALN. On June 18, a front-page story in the *Chicago Tribune* stated that a suspect in the bombing, Filiberto Ojeda Ríos, after being trained in Cuba, had gone to Puerto Rico in 1968, "joined the Socialist Workers party and helped organize the terrorist group known as M.I.R.A."

According to press accounts based on information released by the FBI on Ojeda Ríos, he was arrested in Puerto

Continued on page 30

Closing of 'Republica'

'Just a labor conflict' says U.S. CP

By David Frankel

It was several weeks after the closing of the Portuguese newspaper *República* first made headlines the world over before the U.S. Communist party finally broke its silence on the question. The CP's delay in dealing with the issue is understandable; its version of the facts is so far out of line with reality that it is refuted by the CP's own polemics.

According to the CP, what was involved in the closing of *República* was not an attempt to prevent the Portuguese Socialist party from continuing to publish its views, but only an ordinary labor dispute. Yet we read in the June 21 issue of the *People's World*, the CP's West Coast weekly, that the *República* workers "didn't want to lose their jobs and they recognized that it was the political line of the newspaper that was costing them those jobs."

Thus, it was precisely the political content of the newspaper that was at issue—the right of *República* to continue as a vehicle for the views of the SP.

Imagine a situation in which workers here in the United States who disagreed with the Communist party refused to print its newspaper, and the government stepped in to close the CP paper under the pretext that what was involved was a routine labor-management dispute. This would be a free-speech issue, not a trade-union matter. The same is true of the *República* affair.

The *People's World* tries to get around this obvious fact with the shamefaced argument that *República*, "while largely Socialist in content, was not the organ of the Socialist party, a weekly whose publication has never been in doubt."

República is the only mass-circulation, daily paper reflecting the views of the SP. It is run by a central leader of the SP. Tens of thousands of SP supporters have demonstrated against its closing. Clearly, what is involved is an attempt to stop the SP from reaching the masses of workers with any criticism of the CP and the military government.

The antidemocratic maneuver carried out by the Portuguese Stalinists in collaboration with the ruling military government was so obvious that even the Italian and Spanish CPs felt

compelled to dissociate themselves from it.

The Spanish CP issued a statement by its general secretary, Santiago Carrillo, calling the closing of the *República* "regrettable."

He said, "This measure could tarnish the international image of a democratic Portugal, and I would hope that this daily will reappear without delay."

In Italy the largest CP in Europe, with its own stake in the Italian elections in mind, referred to the 38 percent plurality rolled up by the Portuguese SP in the elections there. An editorial in the CP daily *L'Unita* described the *República* seizure as a "counterrevolutionary coup" and suggested that it had been engineered by "extremist agitators."

Although the U.S. Communist party had nothing to say about the views of its Italian and Spanish cothinkers, it did have something of its own to contribute on the issue of the Portuguese elections. The *People's World* article already quoted "interpreted" the victory of the SP in the recent elections to the Portuguese constituent assembly by referring to the remarks of one fisherman in a small village who supposedly told a *Le Monde* reporter:

"We don't know how to read. How

can we even tell what's good for us. We can't judge what the different parties are putting forward.'

"It's not that the people don't know what they want," the *People's World* hastened to add, "but they have few standards, after 50 years of fascism, to judge by except the standard of some material demands and anti-fascism."

"So they voted Socialist in large numbers in many areas. . . ."

"Yet this vote, by the machinery of bourgeois democracy ceased to be a vote for bread and peace. It became a vote for the Socialist party and for its leader, Mario Soares, and his policies."

Leave it to the CP to determine what the masses "really" voted for. Despite the patronizing claims of the Stalinists, the Portuguese workers and peasants know very well what they want and who they voted for. They are no more downtrodden or illiterate than the people of tsarist Russia or China were when they made their revolutions, nor are they any less capable of understanding politics.

Sixty percent of the Portuguese people voted for parties of the working-class movement claiming to stand for socialism. If the CP and SP were to live up to their responsibilities, and the expectations of the masses who voted

for them, they would demand the formation of a genuine workers government and the socialist transformation of Portugal. Instead, they are supporting capitalism.

For all of its radical-sounding demagoguery, the military regime in Portugal remains a capitalist government. The basic industry remains in the hands of private capitalists, the economy continues to be run on the basis of private profit, and both foreign and domestic trade continue in the hands of the bourgeoisie.

In supporting this capitalist military government, the Portuguese CP has denounced strikes, opposed demands for a shorter workweek, and labeled demands for wage increases to keep up with inflation as irresponsible. In short, it is subordinating the interests of the working class to those of the capitalist class.

The Stalinists know that the workers will not accept this state of affairs for very long without protesting. Their attacks on freedom of the press and their denigration of the elections are aimed not so much against the Portuguese SP, which shares their reformist perspective, as against the right of the working class as a whole to organize against and challenge the policies of the military government.



Italian CP celebrating election victory. U.S. Stalinists hail election gains in Italy, but in Portugal they imply people are too stupid to know what they voted for.

...Portugal: new attacks on democratic rights

Continued from back page

or something like that, and everybody thinks it is a tremendous scandal, to hold Arnaldo Matos prisoner, or counterrevolutionists prisoner, to hold members of the Espírito Santo family prisoner.

"I sometimes think that our revolutionary experience would have been better in April 1974 if we had sent a few hundred or a few thousand counterrevolutionists to the wall, or sent them to the Campo Pequeno bull-fighting arena, crushing them in the egg."

Up until now, the Communist party has served as the mass organizer for the military. However, it was inevitable that sooner or later a section of the military would try to build its own mass apparatus.

In fact, the needs of preserving Portuguese capitalism in the deepening economic crisis seem to be impelling the military to crack down hard to restore "labor discipline" and suppress political ferment and workers

struggles. "The officers of the MFA are well aware of the popular demobilization," José Rebelo wrote from Lisbon in the June 18 *Le Monde*. "The 'battle of production' officially launched by the premier, General Vasco Gonçalves, doesn't seem to have gone beyond mere rhetoric."

"June 10, a holiday in Portugal celebrated by the former regime as the 'day of the race,' was not the 'day of work' desired by Intersindical and the Conselho da Revolução. Rather than participate in the 'battle of production,' the Portuguese preferred the coolness of the beach or the peacefulness of the countryside. The combination 'people-MFA, driving force of the revolutionary process' is beginning to turn into a myth. The conditions have thus been assembled for a new offensive by the right—growing unemployment in the cities and serious discontent in the countryside where the peasants are still waiting for agrarian reform."

Rebelo's report gave a picture of a reformist experiment becoming exhausted, with the workers and peas-

ants falling into indifference. The new government's concessions are rapidly being wiped out by inflation, which was estimated at 7.5 percent for May alone. The fundamental conditions of the masses have not changed, and hope of change is apparently fading.

The only way to halt this drift is to mobilize the workers and peasants behind a clear program of eliminating capitalism and giving the land to those who work it. These are the decisive measures that are needed.

In his remarks about filling the Campo Pequeno with "counterrevolutionaries," however, General de Carvalho promised a different kind of decisiveness. He did not link the advancement of the revolution to gains for the workers and peasants but to ruthless repression.

In this context, the rehabilitation of arbitrary and strong-arm methods, the glorification of legal and extralegal repression exemplified by the seizure of *República*, of Rádio Renascença, the attack by ultraleftists on Catholics protesting the seizure of the church

radio station, the attack on the SP headquarters in Santarém by the Frente Socialista Popular, can either prepare the way for a more repressive policy by the demagogic bourgeois regime, or serve as provocations justifying a rightist coup. In no way can this wave of antidemocratic, antirationalist actions further the cause of a workers government or socialist revolution.

Coming in the July 7 Intercontinental Press

• "Is Angola Headed for Civil War?" First of a three-part series by Ernest Harsch tracing the roots of the fratricidal struggle for power in Angola today. Part I: "Origin of the MPLA, FNLA, and UNITA."

• "Will the Big Slump Continue?" Ernest Mandel examines the prospects for the international capitalist economy. Gloomy reading for Wall Street.

Portugal out now!

Angola: independence fight is not yet won



Portuguese soldiers drag away Angolan demonstrator. Troops still serve to uphold imperialist domination.

By Tony Thomas

Portuguese imperialism has taken advantage of divisions among the Angolan nationalist groups to strengthen its military position in Angola.

After increasing the number of their troops in Angola, the Portuguese military command, in the first part of June, raided the headquarters of both the MPLA (Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola—People's Liberation Movement of Angola) and the FNLA (Frente Nacional de Libertação de Angola—Angolan National Liberation Front).

The Portuguese troops confiscated arms stores held by both groups. Such action is contrary to provisions of the "independence" accords signed between the Portuguese imperialist regime and the MPLA, FNLA, and the UNITA (União Nacional para Independência Total de Angola—National Union for the Total Independence of Angola), Angola's three major liberation groups.

The accords provided for "independence" for Angola by November 11, 1975, but under continued Portuguese military occupation until February 1976. Until November, Angola is to be ruled by a "transitional" regime.

This regime is composed of a Portuguese high commissioner and representatives of the three Angolan nationalist groups. Thus, backed by the force of arms, the Portuguese retain control over key ministries in the government and have the right to take over completely during "emergencies."

Portuguese officials have been hinting over the past few months that the "period of transition" may have to be prolonged because of the fighting between the various nationalist groups.

Because of a widespread illusion, including among the African nationalist groups, that the Portuguese military junta does not represent an imperialist power, the intervention in Angola has not met with the called-for political response.

In São Tomé and Príncipe, a Portu-

guese colony on islands off the coast of Gabon in West Africa, the imperialist aims of the leaders of the MFA (Movimento das Forças Armadas—Armed Forces Movement), Portugal's ruling military junta, are more easily seen than in the case of Angola.

In São Tomé, an agreement signed in November 1974 set up a "transitional" regime to take charge until the date set for independence, July 12, 1975. The government was composed of representatives of the MLSTP (Movimento de Libertação de São Tomé e Príncipe—Liberation Movement of São Tomé and Príncipe), and a Portuguese high commissioner, Lt. Col. Pires Veloso.

The Portuguese planters, who control 90 percent of the islands' land, laid off thousands of plantation workers in protest against the promise of independence.

The MLSTP responded by issuing a decree nationalizing uncultivated land without compensation to the owners.

Veloso and the Portuguese administrators prevented this decree from taking effect.

Later when the MLSTP demanded the disbanding of an African unit of the Portuguese army that had been active against the independence struggle during the Caetano dictatorship, Veloso blocked the move. In collaboration with some of the leaders of the MLSTP who had been in exile in Gabon, this representative of the MFA purged supporters of these radical measures from the government and had them arrested.

When some of the purged MLSTP ministers visited Portugal, the MFA barred the press from reporting their views, had one arrested, and forced another to flee the country.

The Civic Association, a mass organization led by the MLSTP that had organized the demonstrations and strikes that forced the Portuguese regime to promise independence, is now being denounced by the MFA

authorities in São Tomé and by the right wing of the MLSTP as "fascist."

São Tomé should be studied by the Angolan nationalists as an instructive example of how Portuguese imperialism is trying to maintain its control in Africa. It speaks for stepping up the battle to force withdrawal of Portugal from its colonies.

Collaboration with MFA

One of the factors that facilitate the Portuguese intervention in Angola is that the three liberation groups view the "transitional" regime as a means of collaborating with the MFA regime in Lisbon.

In signing the accords they agreed to respect the property of the 400,000 Portuguese settlers in Angola. They agreed, moreover, to maintain financial, military, commercial, and monetary cooperation with Portugal.

Limiting themselves to desultory anticapitalist and anti-imperialist rhetoric, none of the three organizations has taken any real steps to challenge Portuguese or other imperialist powers' economic domination of Angola. In fact, they have tried to moderate and hold back immediate economic and social struggles of the Angolan working masses.

One of the first actions the "transitional" government took was to call on workers and trade unionists to "refrain from going on strike for the time being."

When dock workers in Lobito, Luanda, and other ports struck at the end of February, the "transitional" regime issued a decree empowering it to place the ports and other key sectors of industry under military rule.

Diário de Notícias, a Lisbon daily, reported on February 28 that the MPLA had sent troops to the Lobito docks "to make the workers change their minds."

Armed conflicts

Since January, hundreds have been killed in a series of attacks and pitched battles between the three nationalist groups, most prominently between the MPLA and the FNLA. It is difficult to discern clear social or political differences in the fratricidal conflict.

The MFA has used this fighting over obscure issues as an excuse to justify increasing its intervention in Angola.

Recently, the leaders of MPLA, FNLA, and UNITA met in Kenya to discuss how to put an end to the fighting. A joint communiqué issued June 19 said that the three groups had agreed to unite their armed forces in a single army. Whether this will actually lead to a permanent halt in the fighting remains to be seen.

This step was already called for in the original accords signed with Portugal in January. Similar agreements have been reached by the liberation groups over the past ten years—mainly under the pressure of the African governments. These agreements in the



Angolan coffee. Capitalist powers are maneuvering to maintain stranglehold on rich resources of the country.

past have at best had temporary effects on stopping the fighting between the groups.

The communiqué said that the proposal for a joint army would be linked with actions to disarm civilians. While such a move might be progressive if applied to opponents of independence, it would reduce the ability of the Angolan working masses to resist imperialism.

The proposal to disarm people outside of the liberation groups' armies further strengthens the undemocratic side of the January accords, which state that the three liberation groups are the only political organizations granted full rights to function legally.

While each of these groups accuses the others of being responsible for initiating the fighting, it is unclear who actually started it. The fighting among the groups has been going on since the armed struggle against the Portuguese began in the early 1960s.

Each organization appears to lack confidence in its ability to win the elections projected for next November. They are trying to settle the struggle for political domination of an independent Angola by armed actions now.

Reports in the international capitalist press give varying estimates of the popular support of the different groups. The MPLA and the UNITA are reported to have the support of between 30 and 45 percent of the people, with the FNLA being supported by about one-third.



From left: Agostinho Neto of MPLA, Holden Roberto of FNLA, Jonas Savimbi of UNITA.

It is hard to tell how accurate these reports are, particularly since the base of support of each group tends to be regional. This unevenness reflects the fact that the guerrilla actions they carried out against the Portuguese were never very extensive geographically or in their involvement of the masses after the first few years of the struggle.

None of these groups emerged as the authoritative leadership of the entire independence struggle. The MPLA and FNLA were largely dependent on aid they had received from various African and Asian countries and workers states. The MPLA has also received support and assistance from the governments of some West European countries.

MPLA charges

The MPLA maintains that it is being attacked by the other groups because it is the "anti-imperialist" wing of the struggle. In particular, the MPLA leaders claim that the FNLA is a direct tool of U.S. imperialism because it has close links with Mobutu's regime in Zaïre, in which the United States is reputed to have much influence.

The MPLA's view has been promulgated internationally by the pro-Moscow Communist parties and other supporters of the MPLA. The position of the FNLA is less widely known.

The FNLA denies it is on the receiving end of material from Washington, but it does not deny its longstanding links with the Mobutu regime. It is the only group allowed to have bases in Zaïre and the only one allowed to work among the large numbers of Angolan exiles there. Moreover, anticommunist statements by FNLA leaders indicate that they are not about to promote a social revolution in Angola.

Despite the MPLA's claims to the contrary, the FNLA has been just as active as, if not more active than, the MPLA during the fourteen-year independence struggle.

And despite MPLA claims to the contrary, the MPLA is not more anti-imperialist than the FNLA.

Like the FNLA, the MPLA has engaged in strikebreaking, defends preservation of imperialist property in Angola, and supports the antidemocratic provisions of the January accords with Portugal.

Moreover, the MPLA has sought imperialist intervention in the infighting between the groups.

For example, in April, Agostinho Neto, the MPLA's president, toured Belgium and Holland in an attempt to win support from the rulers of these imperialist countries for his organization.

When he returned to Africa, he boasted of the support the MPLA had received from "even the governments" of these countries, which have important interests in Angola and southern Africa.

Even more striking has been the MPLA's attempt to gain the position of favored group of the MFA, which is governing Angola on behalf of Portuguese imperialism.

Basil Davidson, a British journalist with close ties to the MPLA leaders, said in the April 14 issue of *West Africa*, a Nigerian publication, that the Portuguese military leaders in Angola

"recognize the supremacy of the MPLA." He claimed that the MFA leaders "see in the MPLA the only movement capable of winning a degree of support capable of governing the country."

An April 15 *Agence France-Presse* dispatch reported that Agostinho Neto had stated that the "Portuguese authorities are ready to defend a progressive line, not only in Portugal but in Angola as well." The MPLA has repeatedly demanded that the Portuguese imperialist army play a more active role in intervening in the struggles between the Angolan groups.

This attitude of the MPLA favors the intrigues of all the imperialist powers in Africa. It can help set the stage for a bloodbath in Angola that could make the events in the Congo of the 1960s look mild.

Pressure for the immediate withdrawal of Portuguese troops from Angola and opposition to any imperialist interference in Angola's affairs are urgent in this situation. The continued presence of these foreign troops stands in the way of the Angolan people exercising their right to self-determination.

Moreover, the withdrawal of the Portuguese troops is of vital importance to the developing upsurge in Portugal. The confusion created among the masses in Portugal because of the MPLA's attitude toward the MFA has helped Portuguese imperialism in its efforts to counter the anticolonialist, antimilitarist sentiment that developed because of the African wars.

The idea that the Portuguese imperialist regime has a right to intervene in the Angolan situation can justify not only further colonialist actions by the Portuguese armed forces in Africa, but also repressive measures against the working masses in Portugal itself.

'Militant' interview

Gay GI speaks out on his battle for civil rights

By Cindy Jaquith

WASHINGTON—Three years ago, air force T. Sgt. Leonard Matlovich was, in his own words, "a flag-waving, right-wing warmonger." He had joined the air force in 1963, served three tours of duty in Vietnam, and won a Purple Heart.

But today, having publicly declared that he is a homosexual, Matlovich has launched a legal challenge to the military's antigay regulations that could set an important precedent for the civil rights of gays in all branches of the armed forces.

Last March, Matlovich sent a letter to his supervising officer stating that he is gay and asserting his right to remain in the air force. According to military regulations, homosexuality "is not tolerated in the Air Force."

Lt. Col. Charles Ritchie, his commander at Langley Air Force Base in Hampton, Virginia, where Matlovich is stationed, answered the letter in May. "I am initiating action against you with a view to effecting your discharge from the United States Air Force," Ritchie wrote. His letter said he would recommend a general discharge—less than honorable.

Matlovich has requested an administrative hearing, which will take place this summer. He is being defended by David Addlestone of the American Civil Liberties Union's military rights project.

If the brass decides at the hearing to discharge him, Matlovich will take the case to federal court to get an injunction against the discharge. He is prepared to go all the way to the Supreme Court if necessary.

'An impact on everyone'

"If I win in the federal courts, it will have an impact on everyone in the nation," he told the *Militant* in a telephone interview. The most direct impact would be on the estimated 1,000 persons ejected from the armed services every year on charges that they are gay. The less-than-honorable discharges these people receive intensify the discrimination they face in civilian life, particularly with regard to getting jobs.

The precedent set by knocking down the air force regulation would also have profound implications for gays facing discrimination in other spheres of government employment.

The decision to launch a challenge to the antigay ban was the culmination of a political transformation Matlovich went through over the past few years.

Raised in an air force family, Matlovich grew up with prowar, anti-Black attitudes. His goal was to become a career officer in the air force, and he enlisted at the age of nineteen.

He knew that he was gay at the time, but he was ashamed of this fact. He suppressed his homosexuality for fear he would be kicked out of the service.

The inferiority he felt as a homosexual intensified his racism, he said. "I had to feel like there was someone lower than me," he explained, "but who I really hated most was myself."

His anti-Black prejudice began to change, however, as he realized that both Blacks and gays are victims of unjustified discrimination. He admired the fact that Blacks were standing up and demanding equal treatment. "Black Americans are really the ones who have led the way," he now feels.

Like millions of other young people, he was influenced by the political events of the past decade. One was the horror of Vietnam. He told the *Militant* of an experience in Danang in 1969, when the base mortician told him about the vast numbers of bodies



Leonard Matlovich

piling up from combat.

"I started crying," he said, "at the waste of lives—on both sides."

The women's movement "gave me a great deal of courage," he added, and he also identified with the gay liberation struggle, although he could not openly participate in it.

Equal rights

Matlovich summed up his political views this way: "Three years ago I was a right-winger; today, I believe that the Constitution applies to everybody regardless of race, religion, sex, or creed."

The air force believes otherwise. They claim that gays in the service are a "security risk" and a bad influence on "impressionable youth."

The utterly backward notions used to justify the oppression of gays were reiterated recently by a top air force officer in an interview with the *New York Times*. Maj. Gen. Jeanne Holm, director of the personnel council for the secretary of the air force, said:

"Can you imagine, for instance, being on a submarine, isolated, and being concerned about having homosexuals around preying on young people, or being leaders? I think it would be intolerable."

The hypocrisy of this attitude will be brought out by the defense at Matlovich's hearing. David Addlestone explained that the defense will present evidence to establish that there is the same proportion of gays in the service as in the population as a whole.

"We will argue that sexual preference bears no relation to ability to perform military duties," he said. The argument will be bolstered by the fact that Matlovich has a perfect military record and has received many medals, contradicting the brass's claim that gays are "unfit."

Addlestone thinks that the widespread news coverage of the case has already started a reevaluation of the antigay policy in the eyes of the public. Hopefully, he said, "public pressure may be brought to bear for a change in the policy."

Matlovich himself has found that the antihomosexual prejudices of the past have softened considerably. The support he has received from heterosexuals is "absolutely fantastic," he said. He gave the example of a master sergeant who told him, "A few years ago I would have had nothing to do with you." The sergeant is backing Matlovich today.

Needless to say, gays from all levels of the service—including a colonel and a major—have contacted him to say, "We're behind you 100 percent."

Calendar

LOS ANGELES

ANNUAL SHISH KABOB. Sat., July 19, 4 p.m.—1321 Palms Blvd., Venice. Donation: \$5; \$2.50 h.s. students. Ausp: SWP. For more information call (213) 483-1512 or (213) 394-9050.

TWIN CITIES

SOCIALIST CAMPAIGN BANQUET AND RALLY. Speakers: Peter Camejo, SWP 1976 presidential candidate; Mary Hillery, SWP candidate for mayor of Mpls.; Holly Harkness, SWP candidate for Mpls. school board. Sat., July 12, 5:30 p.m.: refreshments; 6:30: banquet; 8 p.m.: rally. 25 University Ave. S.E., Fourth Floor, Mpls. Donation: \$3.50 dinner, \$1 rally only. Ausp: SWP 1975-1976 Campaign Committee. For more information call (612) 332-7781.

...N.Y.

Continued from page 4

such a movement. It has a significance that goes beyond the numbers that turn out June 28.

This march is the first action during the New York crisis to appeal to every victim of the cuts to join in, to declare that it is fighting not just for one group but against all the cutbacks and all the layoffs.

The initiators of the June 28 demonstration have been working to convince others of this perspective and to win the broadest possible union and community involvement. The enthusiastic response already received is an indication of how much more could be achieved if the most authoritative New York labor bodies threw their forces into such united action.

We face a long and difficult struggle. There will be ups and downs in the level of protest activity. Our perspective after June 28, as before, should be to patiently and persistently work toward uniting the working people of New York in action. That is the strategy that can win.

...NAACP

Continued from page 7

Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC), the federal job bias agency.

A federal judge ruled that the affirmative-action agreement must prevail and the company after layoffs would

have to have the same percentages of minorities and women on its payroll that it had before. The judge suggested that the utility establish three separate seniority lists to get around the problem—one for the newly hired minority workers, one for the newly hired women, and one for all other employees.

But IBEW higher-ups lost no time in filing an appeal, which was recently upheld.

Another case filed by the NAACP involves Trans World Airlines. In a recent round of layoffs, Black pilots, copilots, and flight engineers were among the first to be grounded.

One NAACP official calls it a "double penalty."

"Blacks applied for those jobs as early as 1959, but they were not hiring minorities and females for them," said Elizabeth Smith, an assistant to Hill. "They hired them in 1965, but they applied in 1959, which means they would have had seniority. And now with the economic crisis we see the old unfair 'last hired, first fired,' so it's a double penalty."

The NAACP is arguing for "racial ratios" for the Black and women pilots. As Hill explains it, TWA "has some 32,000 people in that category, including 12 Blacks, and if they go through with the layoffs, they will have no Blacks in that class." But the pilots' union is resisting the NAACP plan. A decision in the case is pending.

In Harvey, Louisiana, the Continental Can Company, in laying off nearly 200 employees, pink-slipped 48 of its 50 Black workers. Four of the Black workers went to court, and Federal District Judge Fred Cassibry ruled that the company had erred because all but two of the Blacks had been hired since 1965.

In his decision ordering the Black workers rehired, Cassibry wrote:

"The company's history of racial discrimination in hiring makes it impossible now for blacks (other than the original two) to have sufficient seniority to withstand layoff.

"In this situation, the selection of employees for layoffs on the basis of seniority unlawfully perpetuates the effects of past discrimination."

The EEOC filed a brief in this case that says in part: "The national commitment to extirpate racial discrimination rapidly and completely is severely tested and strained during a contracting economy. But however

painful the process, it is the function of courts to enforce the civil rights laws in such a manner that the 'recently hired and twice emancipated blacks' do not once again 'go to the foot of the line.'"

Cassibry's order, a step forward, is being appealed and will be heard by the circuit court of appeals.

Just as advocates of affirmative action have been generating support for the rights of newly hired Blacks and women on the job, opponents of affirmative action have been on a contrasting campaign.

The shrillest opposition has come from the Meanyites, who have always been hostile to any advancement of Blacks on the job.

Bayard Rustin, director of the A. Philip Randolph Institute, says that seniority must not be modified to accommodate Blacks and women.

"No union could exist without maintaining lines of seniority," Rustin said, and any change in these would "only lead to violent disorders, to whites and Blacks fighting in the streets."

The Meanyites claim that any modification of the seniority system to accommodate Blacks and women will be a blow to the unity and gains of the labor movement.

In reality, it has been a blow to labor unity when, for years, the conservative, self-indulgent Meanyite misleadership has refused to fight employer discrimination against Blacks in the labor movement.

Affirmative action in hiring and promotion is needed as special compensation for wrongs in the past. Special compensation against wrongs in the past—if they are not to be repeated in the present—also requires a modification of seniority, which is no gain to Blacks in the labor movement at all if it is used to maintain white privilege at Black expense.

Unlike Rustin, many Black leaders are coming to realize the necessity of modifying seniority in these instances.

Vernon Jordan, head of the National Urban League, in a recent column in Black newspapers, wrote, "A seniority system that operates to freeze Blacks into a last-hired, first-fired situation, has to give way to the higher conflicting right of continued Black employment opportunity."

At the recent convention of the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists, a resolution proposed by the leadership of the group urged "the granting of

constructive seniority to individuals previously discriminated against due to race or sex."

And more and more Black newspapers have been spreading the word in newsprint. Editorialized the *Carolina Times*:

"There should be developed a system that will recognize both the traditional seniority principle and the corrective requirements of affirmative action programs lest the victims of past discrimination find that the gains and progress under affirmative action programs are very short lived."

...Chicago

Continued from page 26

Rico on explosives charges in 1970 and "simply disappeared" after posting bond.

The Illinois SWP denounced this attempt to link the socialists to the purported "Cuban terrorist." A June 19 statement issued by the SWP stated categorically, "Rios is not and has never been a member of the Socialist Workers party," and added, "Advocacy or support of terrorist activities is incompatible with membership in the Socialist Workers party."

The FALN is a mysterious organization that had never carried out actions in the Chicago area before. Nothing is known about its origins, leaders, or specific ideology. After emerging last October, it gained national prominence in January by taking credit for a bombing in New York that left four dead and more than fifty wounded.

These circumstances, and the timing of the bombing in Chicago, have led to widespread speculation as to whether the bombing here might be the work of government provocateurs, as has turned out to be the case with a number of similar actions in the past.

For example, Don Rose, a columnist in *Chicago Weekend*, a Black community newspaper, wrote after the June 14 bombing: "What a coincidence that the alleged FALN suddenly is tossing bombs around and calling up the Associated Press to tell us about how it is assuming responsibility for the bombings. . . ."

"A real Chicago paranoid could think those bombs might have been commissioned by the police themselves, just to get the public back on the side of illegal spying."

Socialist Directory

ARIZONA: Tucson: YSA, c/o Clennon, S.U.P.O. Box 20965, Tucson, Ariz. 85720.

CALIFORNIA: Berkeley-Oakland: SWP and YSA, 1849 University Ave., Berkeley, Calif. 94703. Tel: (415) 548-0354.

Long Beach: YSA, c/o Student Activities Office, CSU, 6101 E. 7th St., Long Beach, Calif. 90807.

Los Angeles, Central-East: SWP, YSA, Militant Bookstore, 710 S. Westlake Ave., Los Angeles, Calif. 90057. Tel: SWP, Militant Bookstore—(213) 483-1512; YSA—(213) 483-2581.

Los Angeles, West Side: SWP and YSA, 230 Broadway, Santa Monica, Calif. 90401. Tel: (213) 394-9050.

Los Angeles: City-wide SWP and YSA, 710 S. Westlake Ave., Los Angeles, Calif. 90057. Tel: (213) 483-0357.

Riverside: YSA, c/o U. of Cal. Campus Activities, 234 Commons, Riverside, Calif. 92507.

Sacramento: YSA, P.O. Box 20669, Sacramento, Calif. 95824.

San Diego: SWP, YSA, and Militant Bookstore, 4635 El Cajon Blvd., San Diego, Calif. 92115. Tel: (714) 280-1292.

San Francisco: SWP, YSA, Militant Labor Forum, and Militant Books, 1519 Mission St., San Francisco, Calif. 94103. Tel: SWP—(415) 431-8918; YSA—(415) 863-2285; Militant Books—(415) 864-9174.

San Jose: YSA, 96 S. 17th St., San Jose, Calif. 95112. Tel: (408) 286-0615.

Santa Barbara: YSA, P.O. Box 14606, UCSB, Santa Barbara, Calif. 93107.

COLORADO: Denver: SWP, YSA, and Militant Bookstore, 1203 California, Denver, Colo. 80204. Tel: SWP—(303) 623-2825; YSA—(303) 893-8360.

FLORIDA: Tallahassee: YSA, P.O. Box U-6350, Tallahassee, Fla. 32313.

GEORGIA: Atlanta: Militant Bookstore, 68 Peachtree St., N.E., Third Floor, Atlanta, Ga. 30303. SWP and YSA, P.O. Box 846, Atlanta, Ga. 30301. Tel: (404) 523-0610.

ILLINOIS: Champaign: YSA, Room 284 Illini Union, Urbana, Ill. 61801.

Chicago: SWP, YSA, Pathfinder Books, 428 S. Wabash, Fifth Floor, Chicago, Ill. 60605. Tel: SWP—(312) 939-0737; YSA—(312) 427-0280, Pathfinder Books—(312) 939-0756.

INDIANA: Bloomington: YSA, c/o Student Activities Desk, Indiana University, Bloomington, Ind. 47401.

Indianapolis: YSA, c/o Carole McKee, 1309 E. Vermont St., Indianapolis, Ind. 46202. Tel: (317) 637-1105.

KANSAS: Lawrence: YSA, c/o Christopher Starr, 3020 Iowa St., Apt. C-14, Lawrence, Kans. 66044. Tel: (913) 864-3975 or 842-8658.

KENTUCKY: Lexington: YSA, P.O. Box 952 University Station, Lexington, Ky. 40506. Tel: (606) 266-0536.

LOUISIANA: New Orleans: YSA, Box 1330 U.N.O., New Orleans, La. 70122.

MARYLAND: Baltimore: YSA, P.O. Box 4314, Baltimore, Md. 21223. Tel: (301) 247-8911.

MASSACHUSETTS: Boston: SWP and YSA, c/o Militant Labor Forum, 655 Atlantic Ave., Third Floor, Boston, Mass. 02111. Tel: SWP—(617) 482-8050; YSA—(617) 482-8051; Issues and Activists Speakers' Bureau (IASB) and Regional Committee—(617) 482-8052; Pathfinder Books—(617) 338-8560.

Worcester: YSA, Box 229, Greendale Station, Worcester, Mass. 01606.

MICHIGAN: Ann Arbor: YSA, Room 4103, Mich. Union, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. 48104. Tel: (313) 663-8766.

Detroit: SWP, YSA, Eugene V. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward Ave., Detroit, Mich. 48201. Tel: (313) 831-6135.

East Lansing: YSA, First Floor Student Offices, Union Bldg., Michigan State University, East Lansing, Mich. 48823. Tel: (517) 353-0660.

Kalamazoo: YSA, 3573 Kenbrooke Ct., Kalamazoo, Mich. 49007.

Mt. Pleasant: YSA, Box 51 Warriner Hall, Central Mich. Univ., Mt. Pleasant, Mich. 48859.

MINNESOTA: Minneapolis-St. Paul: SWP, YSA, Labor Bookstore, 25 University Ave. S.E., Mpls., Minn. 55414. Tel: (612) 332-7781.

MISSOURI: St. Louis: SWP, YSA, Pathfinder Books, 4660 Maryland, Suite 17, St. Louis, Mo. 63108. Tel: (314) 367-2520.

NEW YORK: Albany: YSA, c/o Spencer Livingston, 317 State St., Albany, N.Y. 12210.

Brooklyn: SWP and YSA, 136 Lawrence St. (at Willoughby), Brooklyn, N.Y. 11201. Tel: (212) 596-2849.

New York City: City-wide SWP and YSA, 706 Broadway (4th St.), Eighth Floor, New York, N.Y. 10003. Tel: (212) 982-4966.

Lower Manhattan: SWP, YSA, and Merit Bookstore, 706 Broadway (4th St.), Eighth Floor, New York, N.Y. 10003. Tel: SWP, YSA—(212) 982-6051; Merit Books (212) 982-5940.

Upper West Side: SWP, YSA, Pathfinder Bookstore, 2726 Broadway (104th St.), New York, N.Y. 10025. Tel: (212) 663-3000.

Ossining: YSA, c/o Scott Cooper, 127-1 S. Highland Ave., Ossining, N.Y. 10562.

NORTH CAROLINA: Greenville: YSA, P.O. Box 1693, Greenville, N.C. 27834. Tel: (919) 752-6439.

OHIO: Bowling Green: YSA, P.O. Box 27, University Hall, Bowling Green State University, Bowling Green, Ohio 45341.

Cincinnati: YSA, c/o Charles R. Mitts, 6830 Buckingham Pl., Cincinnati, Ohio 45227.

Cleveland: SWP and YSA, 4420 Superior Ave., Cleveland, Ohio 44103. Tel: SWP—(216) 391-5553; YSA—(216) 391-3278.

Columbus: YSA, c/o Margaret Van Epp, 670 Cuyahoga Ct., Columbus, Ohio 43210. Tel: (614) 268-7860.

OREGON: Portland: SWP and YSA, 208 S.W. Stark, Fifth Floor, Portland, Ore. 97204. Tel: (503) 226-2715.

PENNSYLVANIA: Edinboro: YSA, Edinboro State College, Edinboro, Pa. 16412.

Philadelphia: SWP, YSA, Pathfinder Bookstore, 1004 Filbert St. (one block north of Market), Philadelphia, Pa. 19107. Tel: (215) WA5-4316.

Pittsburgh: SWP, YSA, Pathfinder Press, 3400 Fifth Ave., Pittsburgh, Pa. 15213. Tel: (412) 682-5019.

Shippensburg: YSA, c/o Mark Dressler, Box 214 Lackhove Hall, Shippensburg State College, Shippensburg, Pa. 17257.

State College: YSA, 333 Logan Ave. #401, State College, Pa. 16801.

TENNESSEE: Nashville: YSA, P.O. Box 67, Station B, Nashville, Tenn. 37235. Tel: (615) 383-2583.

TEXAS: Austin: YSA, c/o Arnold Rodriguez, 901 Morrow, Apt. 303, Austin, Tex. 78757.

Dallas: YSA, c/o Steve Charles, 3420 Hidalgo #201, Dallas, Tex. 75220. Tel: (214) 352-6031.

Houston: SWP, YSA, and Pathfinder Books, 3311 Montrose, Houston, Tex. 77006. Tel: (713) 526-1082.

San Antonio: YSA, c/o Andy González, 2203 W. Houston, San Antonio, Tex. 78207.

UTAH: Logan: YSA, P.O. Box 1233, Utah State University, Logan, Utah 84321.

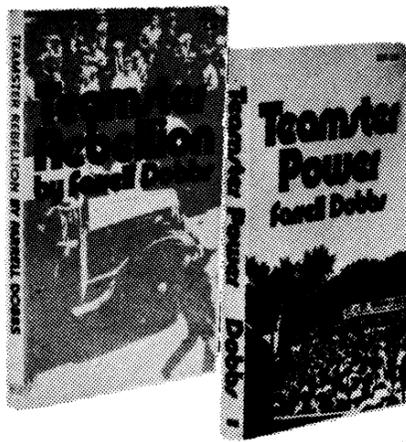
WASHINGTON, D.C.: SWP, YSA, Militant Bookstore, 1345 E St. N.W., Fourth Floor, Wash., D.C. 20004. Tel: SWP—(202) 783-2391; YSA—(202) 783-2363.

WASHINGTON: Bellingham: YSA and Young Socialist Books, Rm. 213, Viking Union, Western Washington State College, Bellingham, Wash. 98225. Tel: (206) 676-3460.

Seattle: SWP, YSA, and Militant Bookstore, 5623 University Way N.E., Seattle, Wash. 98105. Tel: (206) 522-7800.

WISCONSIN: Madison: YSA, P.O. Box 1442, Madison, Wis. 53701. Tel: (608) 238-6224.

Milwaukee: SWP, YSA, 207 E. Michigan Ave., Rm. 25, Milwaukee, Wis. 53202. Tel: SWP—(414) 289-9340; YSA—(414) 289-9380.



How the unions can fight back and win

Teamster Rebellion

By Farrell Dobbs. "Most readers will be fascinated with this insider's vivid account of these strikes which captured the attention of the nation and significantly influenced the course of American working class history."—*Minneapolis Tribune*. 192 pp., \$6.95, paper \$2.45.

Teamster Power

By Farrell Dobbs. "Dobbs' Trotskyist views pervade this book as they did his thinking in the 1930s, when he was widely respected as an expert union strategist and negotiator. His capabilities are reflected in his writing, which is characterized by a sensitivity to the dynamics of class conflict. *Teamster Power* is a vivid and persuasive book."—*Labor History*. 256 pp., \$8.95, paper \$2.95.

Labor's Giant Step

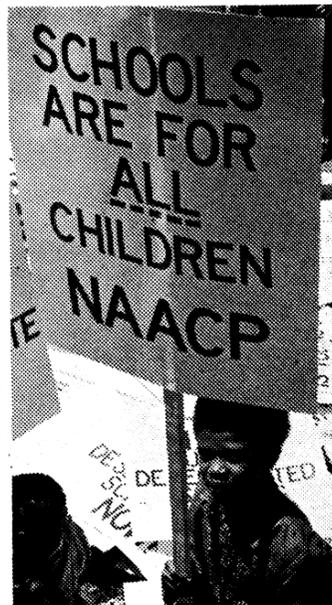
Twenty Years of the CIO

By Art Preis. A comprehensive history of working-class militancy and the rise of industrial unionism in the United States. 538 pp., \$14.00, paper \$3.95.

Available at the bookstores listed in the Socialist Directory on the facing page or by mail from Pathfinder Press, Inc., 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014. Write for a complete catalog of books and pamphlets.

From Pathfinder Press

Issues in the Antiracist Struggle



BLACK LIBERATION AND SOCIALISM

Anthology, edited by Tony Thomas. 208 pp., \$9.00, paper \$2.45.

FBI PLOT AGAINST THE BLACK MOVEMENT

With reprinted FBI memos. By Baxter Smith. \$.35.

THE RACIST OFFENSIVE AGAINST BUSING:

The Lessons of Boston; How to Fight Back

By Willie Mae Reid, Peter Camejo, and others. \$.50.

WHO KILLED JIM CROW? The story of the civil rights movement and its lessons for today.

By Peter Camejo. \$.60.

ATTICA: Why Prisoners Are Rebellious

by Derrick Morrison, Mary-Alice Waters. \$.35.

BLACK VOICES FROM PRISON

by Etheridge Knight and fellow inmates of Indiana State Prison. 192 pp., \$5.95, paper \$2.45.

BLACK WOMEN'S LIBERATION

by Maxine Williams and Pamela Newman. \$.35.

BY ANY MEANS NECESSARY

by Malcolm X. 192 pp., \$5.95, paper \$1.95.

RACE PREJUDICE: How It Began, When It Will End

by George Breitman. \$.35.

Order from Pathfinder Press, Inc., 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014

Samizdat

Voices of the Soviet Opposition

An anthology of dissident writing circulated clandestinely in the Soviet Union, edited by George Saunders. This collection includes memoirs of the early struggles against the growing Stalin bureaucracy; accounts of personal experiences in the prison camps; and speeches, writings, and petitions of the recent dissident movement. A Monad Press book.

464 pp., \$15, paper \$3.95

Order from: Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014

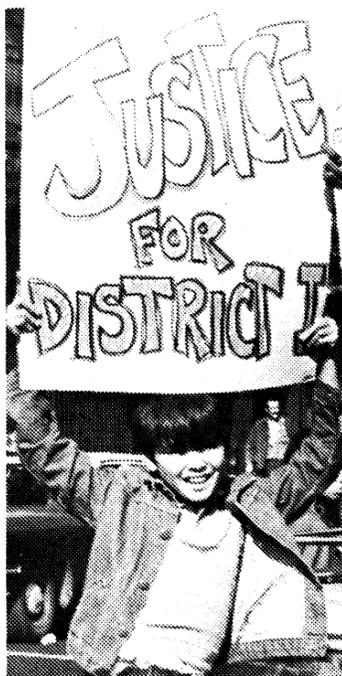
Intercontinental Press

DOCUMENTS

World Congress of the FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

Documents discussed at 1974 Tenth World Congress of Fourth International. 128 pages, 8 1/2 x 11, \$2.50

Intercontinental Press
P.O. Box 116, Village Station
New York, NY 10014



Community control in New York's School Dist. 1

The Struggle for Community Control in N.Y. School District 1

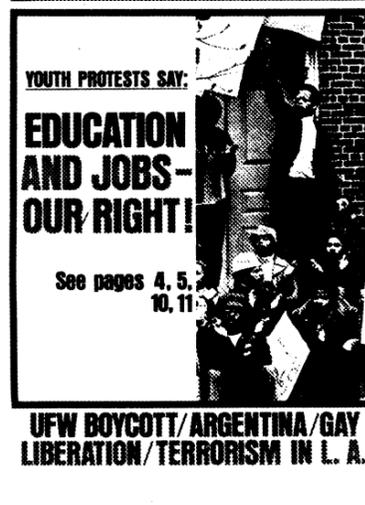
By Ethel Lobman and Katherine Sojourner. 16 pp., \$.35.

The Fight Against Racism in Our Schools La Lucha Contra El Racismo En Nuestras Escuelas

By Luis Fuentes. 16 pp., \$.25.
(In English or Spanish.)

Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014.

young socialist



Read the Young Socialist

Join the Young Socialist Alliance

Members of the Young Socialist Alliance are fighters in the struggle against racism in Boston, campus and high school struggles, the women's liberation movement, the fight of Chicanos to end racist deportations, and other movements for social change. Join us!

I would like more information about the YSA
 I want to join the YSA
 Enclosed is \$1 for 6 months of the **Young Socialist** newspaper

Name: _____

Address: _____

City, State, Zip & Phone: _____
YSA, P.O. Box 471 Cooper Station, N.Y., N.Y. 10003

THE MILITANT

Behind 'Republica' affair

Portuguese military vs. democratic rights

By Gerry Foley

From Intercontinental Press

On June 21, the Conselho da Revolução, the leading body of the Armed Forces Movement and the real government of Portugal, formally issued a statement of position that was favorably received in the authoritative capitalist press.

"The document brought some relief to those in Portugal and other Western countries who have been worried by a trend here toward a 'people's democracy' of the Eastern European type," Henry Giniger wrote from Lisbon in a June 21 dispatch to the *New York Times*.

The statement also apparently reassured the figure who has been portrayed in the capitalist press as the leader of the "democratic opposition to Communism."

'Hope for Democracy'

Giniger continued: "Today there is more hope for parliamentary democracy than yesterday," said Mário Soares, the Socialist party leader, who has been at odds with the Communist party and with the armed forces at times. Mr. Soares said that the document was very explicit in rejecting dictatorship of the proletariat and people's democracy for Portugal."

The document also reaffirmed Lisbon's support for NATO. "Alliances and obligations already established will be respected, namely the participation of Portugal in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, so as not to prejudice the political-military equilibrium of Europe."

James Reston of the *New York Times*, writing from Lisbon in the June 22 issue of his paper, explained that "the economic facts, or so it seems here, are beginning to bring this divided Government to its senses."

These expressions of opinion in capitalist and procapitalist "democratic" circles indicate how little these elements were concerned about the democratic rights of the Portuguese people in the conflict that has pitted the Socialist party against the military and the Stalinists.

In fact, the document issued June 21 by the military junta represented a new escalation of the attack on popular sovereignty and freedom of expression in Portugal.

It ordered the only body elected by the Portuguese masses, the Constituent Assembly, in which the workers parties have an absolute majority, to cease its discussion of political questions:

"The council document said the Constituent Assembly . . . must limit itself to making a constitution," Giniger reported, "any other kind of official interference in national political or administrative life being forbidden to it."

Actually, the real structure of the government has already been established by the pact-program the military persuaded the major parties to sign before the April 25 elections. In



General Saraiva de Carvalho, head of Portuguese political police, wants workers to be 'disciplined' and more responsive to orders of military junta.

effect a two-house legislature was established, with the military functioning as an upper house and reserving all fundamental powers to itself. The elected parliament was restricted to an essentially technical and formal role.

A Coming Test

In the June 21 statement, the military junta continued its drive against political democracy:

"The council made it clear that although it wanted political parties and expressions of diverse opinions [sic], the parties were on trial. The economic program to be drawn up in a month 'will represent an extremely important test,' the council said."

The creation of an official press was proclaimed: ". . . the council announced that it intended to transform 'one or more newspapers, already virtually belonging to the state, into semi-official organs, whose news and doctrines naturally reflect the position of the Armed Forces Movement.'"

The statement, according to a report by Patrick Chapman in the June 22 *Washington Post*, also promised: "Laws are to be introduced that will enable the authorities to take 'quick and decisive action' against Portuguese and foreign journalists who 'intentionally distort the news' and

present 'a damaging picture' of Portugal."

Such laws can hardly affect the coverage of Portuguese events in the international press. Their only purpose is to prevent uncensored news from reaching the Portuguese people through foreign sources. Already certain sensitive questions are dealt with more openly in the foreign press than in the local press. The dispute between the Armed Forces Movement and the Socialist party before the April elections is one example.

The statement linked the counter-revolutionary right and "pseudorevolutionary leftists," promising to repress "both" with armed action if necessary.

The military rulers reiterated their determination to deny democratic rights to the ranks of the armed forces and thereby maintain them as a pliant instrument of repression for the bourgeois state. This was linked to a ban on popular militias: "It said that it would not tolerate the existence of armed groups or the infiltration within the armed forces of political organizations," Giniger reported.

At the same time, the military body announced its intention to move ahead with its project for building a mass apparatus subordinate to the armed forces, essentially an auxiliary repres-

sive force and a totalitarian-style political transmission belt.

"The council, while denying that it wished to question the legitimacy or role of political parties, also called for the formation of popular organizations that would be directly linked with the armed forces and would constitute a beginning of direct democracy." What kind of a "beginning of direct democracy" these formations would represent can easily be imagined, since they would be linked to a body from which political democracy, that is, the existence and free competition of organized currents of opinion, has been explicitly banned.

This concept has been supported both by the head of the military security police, Gen. Otelo Saraiva de Carvalho, and by the Communist party, although in somewhat different versions. The "direct democracy" sought by the charismatic general would be directly subordinated to the armed forces. The "people's organizations" the CP has in mind would be an auxiliary to a coalition between the military and the mass organizations dominated by the Stalinists.

General de Carvalho explained his view of the next stage of the "revolution," in a speech to a group of officers, noncoms, and privates in the Mercado do Povo restaurant in Lisbon on June 15. His remarks were broadcast over Rádio Renascença, the station that has been seized by a "workers committee" similar to the one that forced the closing of *República*, and were published in the papers the following day. *Jornal Novo* gave long excerpts.

"The political parties, through their leaderships, have not done anything to enlighten the Portuguese people, to illuminate it, to really bring light to this people that has lived and continues to live in darkness. So that now in the less politicized areas of the country, the people greet the MFA [Movimento das Forças Armadas—Armed Forces Movement] itself with rocks in their hands."

'Tough' Stance

He concluded: "The PAIGC [Partido Africano da Independência da Guiné-Bissau e Cabo Verde—African party for the Independence of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde] is a party with extraordinary grass roots, an extraordinarily powerful party. . . . When we left Guiné and the country became independent, the PAIGC immediately shot and buried dozens upon dozens of counterrevolutionists who opposed the revolution. They killed them and buried them. And there was not a line in any of the newspapers on this question. But all we have to do is arrest somebody, a member of the MRPP [Movimento Reorganizativo do Partido do Proletariado—Movement to Reorganize the Proletarian Party, a Maoist group], an Arnaldo Matos [secretary of the MRPP], for example,

Continued from page 27